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Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai

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**JOURNAL**  
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**Royal Asiatic Society**

**(Covering the territories of the Federation of Malaya,  
the States of Singapore & Brunei and the Colonies  
of Sarawak & North Borneo)**

**Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai**

**a revised romanised version  
of Raffles MS 67, together with  
an English translation,  
both prepared by  
A. H. Hill, M.A., D.Phil.**

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Edited for the Council of the Society by  
C. A. Gibson-Hill, M.A., F.R.A.I., F.R.S.A.

## Preface

The only manuscript of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* still extant is a copy prepared for Sir Stamford Raffles in 1814. It was apparently based on a manuscript then belonging to Kiai Suvadimanggala, the senior regent of the province of Demak, in Java. The copy made in 1814 passed to Lady Raffles eleven years later and now constitutes MS No. 67 in the collection of manuscripts which she presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland in 1830, in memory of her husband.

A transcription of the Raffles MS was subsequently published by Edouard Dulaurier, with the title *La Chronique du Royaume de Pasey* (Paris 1849). Parts of Dulaurier's text were translated by Leon de Rosny in 1871. Three years later Aristide Marre published a translation of the complete transcription under the title *L'Histoire des Rois de Pasey* (Paris 1874). Hitherto this little known French version has been the only available translation of the whole work.

In 1913/14 R.O. (now Sir Richard) Winstedt, then secretary to the Committee for Malay Studies, arranged for the preparation, and subsequent publication in the *JSBRAS*, of romanised versions of a series of Malay texts. The prospective list included the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, the *Misa Melayu* and the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*. Of these only two got as far as the pages of the Journal; J. P. Mead's romanisation of Raffles MS 67 (*JSBRAS*, **66**, 1914, pp. 1-55); and A. J. Sturrock's romanisation of the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* (*JSBRAS*, **72**, 1916, pp. 37-123).

The surviving stocks of these two issues were among the copies of the Journal removed from the Raffles Museum building by the Japanese in 1943/44: the position in 1947 is given in *JMBRAS*, **21**, (3), 1948, p. 65. Reprinting was agreed on by the Council of the Society a year or two later, but it was also resolved that the two texts should be revised before they were re-issued. When, therefore, Dr A. H. Hill offered to provide the Society with an annotated translation of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, it was arranged that he should at the same time amend Mead's romanised text for republication.

The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* only amounts to some 30,000 words in the original. This enables us to print both the revised romanised text and the English translation in the same issue of the Journal.

March 1959.

C. A. GIBSON-HILL.



# **Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai**

## **A revised romanisation &**

## **English translation**

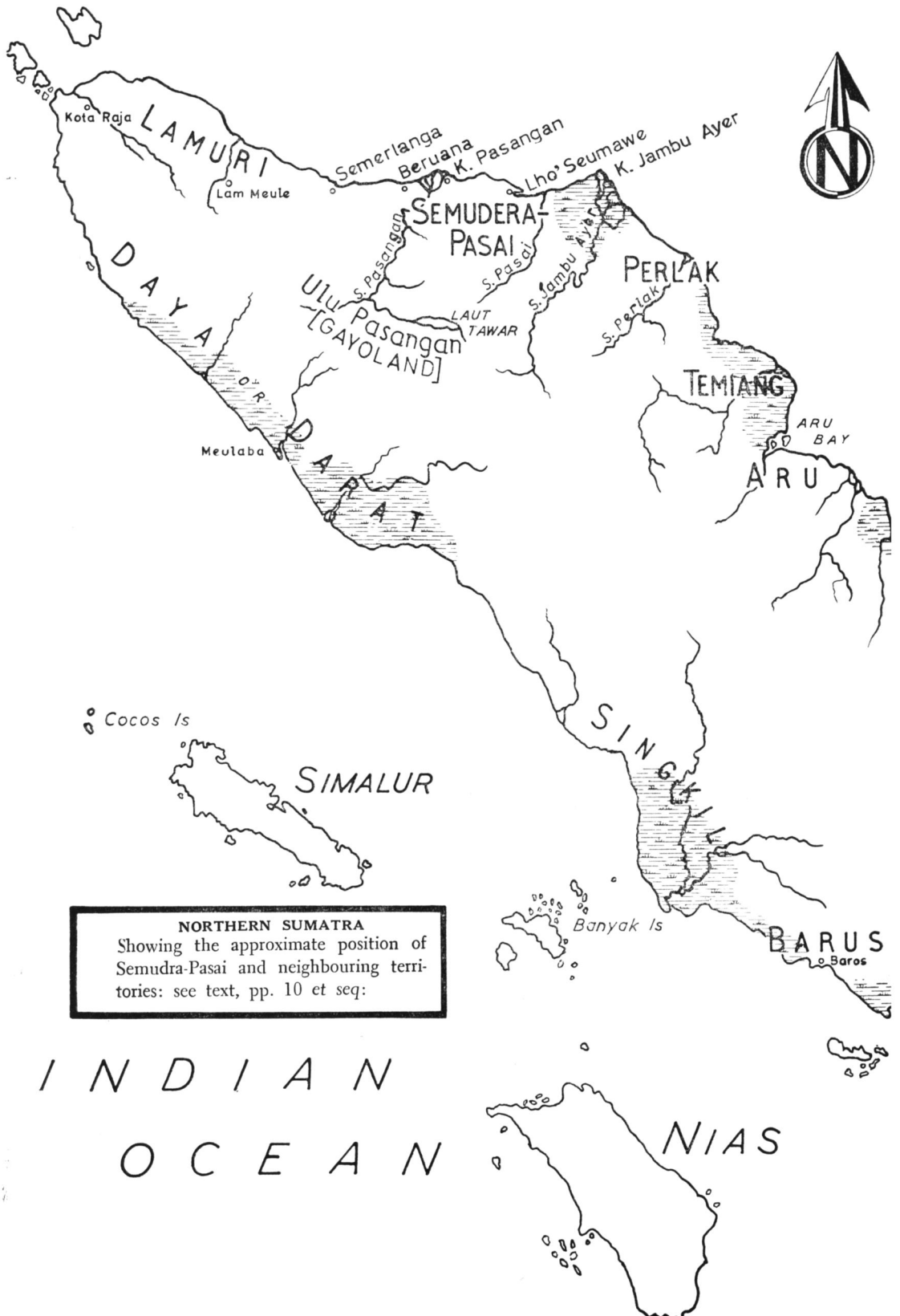
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(Number 190)**

# M A L A C C A

# S T R A I T



I N D I A N  
O C E A N

## Introduction

### A. Historical Background \*

The period covered by *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* opens with the break-up of the maritime empire of Srivijaya. The story is not concerned with the events which led to the collapse of Srivijaya; namely, the southward expansion of T'ai power through the Malay Peninsula which began about A.D. 1280 and the rise of the empires of Singosari and Majapahit in Java (see, e.g., Coedès, 1948: 332-36). In 1292 Kertanagara, the ruler of Singosari, sent an expedition against Malayu: also, according to the *Nagarakertagama*, against Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. The purpose of the expedition, it has been thought, may have been to establish outposts to repel an attack from China (see, e.g. Berg, 1950: 198-202). Meanwhile a rebellion undermined Kertanagara's position in his own kingdom. He was put to death shortly before Kublai Khan's forces reached Java.

The circumstances in which the Mongol invasion was repelled after the fall of Singosari and Kertanagara's son-in-law founded a new dynasty at Majapahit, are not fully understood (Berg, *op. cit.*: 481-520). By the end of the thirteenth century Malayu was left as the only independent kingdom of importance in Sumatra. In the next century Majapahit grew into a maritime empire whose power was felt on both sides of the Straits of Malacca.

Another important factor led to the disintegration of the territories once ruled by the Seri Maharajas of Srivijaya. By the turn of the century Islam had gained a foothold on the coast of north Sumatra. It is true that centuries before this Arab merchants had settled in small communities along the trade routes leading through South East Asia. By the tenth century they had become undisputed masters of the trade with the East. But now for the first time the religion of the Prophet appeared in

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\* Full bibliographic details of works cited throughout this introduction are to be found in the Bibliography between pages 208 and 215.

References to other parts of this work are simply in the following form e.g. pp. 9—12; note 113.

South East Asia as a proselytizing force. Its power was to bring about the downfall of Majapahit a century later, and politically to change the face of South East Asia.

Chinese records, a few historical texts of the region and the writings of some of the earliest travellers in Indonesia give between them a vague picture of the growth of several small states in north Sumatra. The first state named is that mentioned in the *Chu-Fan-Chi*, the records of Chau Ju-Kua 1225, as Lan-Wu-Li. Pelliot (1904: 327) has discussed its identification with the Lambri of Marco Polo (1875: 270), the Lamori of Fr. Odoric (1914, II: 146-7), the Lamuri of the *Nagarakertagama* (see Ferrand, 1918: 65-6), and the Nan-p'o-li of fifteenth century Chinese texts, e.g., the *Ying Yai Sheng Lan* of Ma Hua ca 1430 (see Rockhill, 1915: 149-50).

The Mongol records show that in 1280 Sarbaza (*San-foh-tsi* = Palembang) and eight other states were summoned with Champa to do homage at Kublai Khan's court. Such an invitation implies that these states had risen to a position of independence and power sufficient for them to be known at the Chinese court. Were any of the north Sumatran states among them? The *Yuan-shih* says that a Chinese mission was on its way back from *Ma'bar* (Coromandel, see Marrison, 1951: 33-34) in 1282 when it called at *Sa-mu-tu-la*. It was welcomed by the ruler who sent two of his ministers with the mission to China. Their names were Husain and Sulaiman, so evidently they were Muslims.

Variant forms of the name *Sa-mu-tu-la* appear in Chinese texts of the period. It is the *Sumudra* of the *Nagarakertagama* which was written in 1365 (Kern, J.C.H., 1903: 532). *Semudera* was a flourishing state when Ibn Batuta visited it in 1345/46. Its name had come to be used in place of Sarbaza, etc., for the whole island. But in the sixteenth century Barros did not hear its name any more, only Acheh. Marrison (*op. cit.*: 35) has made some interesting comments on Muslim influence in southern India and in Sumatra in these early days.

In 1284 the government of the southern province of Fukien sent an officer 'to summon Nan-Wu-Li [= Lambri] and three other states to do homage' (Parker, 1900: 131). In 285 *Sa-mu-tu-la* sent an envoy. The following year an important mission to China had in it representatives from the reigning families of ten states, eight of them in India and *Nan-Wu-Li* and *Sa-mu-*

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*tu-la* (Nilakanta Sastri, 1939: 155). The envoys were detained in China until the result of Kublai Khan's war with Java was known. In 1294 they returned with presents and a safe-conduct tally. Some details of these embassies are given by Rockhill (1915: 441).

Later in the same year envoys went to China from *Nan-wou-li*, *Sou-mou-ta-la*, *Ki-mo-la-mao* and *T'an-yang*. Pelliot (*loc. cit.*: 327) gives good reasons for believing that *Ki-mo-la-mao* is the same as *Mo-la-yu*, Marco Polo's *Malaiur* or *Jambi*. He thinks that *T'an-Yang*, the *Tan-yang* of the Ming texts, may be Marco Polo's *Dagroian*. In the *Nagarakertagama* the name appears as *Tumihang*. Groeneveldt (1880: 216) places it in the region of the actual Temiang, between Deli and the point of Aceh.

One more entry in the Mongol records refers to Sumatra. In 1309 three envoys were sent from China to *Ciampa* (Champa), *Puh-lin-pa* (Palembang) and *Pah-sih*. If *Pah-sih* is Pasai this is the first recorded use of the word as the name of a state in north Sumatra.

Marco Polo's sojourn in 'Little Java' was unintentional. He and his party, on their way back to Europe from the court of Kublai Khan, spent some four months at a place he calls *Samara* awaiting the time when the slackening of the south-west monsoon would allow their onward passage across the Indian Ocean. Three modern editions of Polo's celebrated book describing his travels have been brought out, and the quotations which follow are from Sir Henry Yule's edition referred to under Polo in the Bibliography. Polo says that in 1292 there were eight independent localities, evidently small river settlements, in north Sumatra. He names six of them: (1) *Ferlec*. 'This kingdom is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahommet—I mean the townspeople only, for the hill-people live like beasts and eat human flesh ...' (2) *Basma*, where the people, who had a language of their own, lived like beasts without laws or religion 'Wild elephants, unicorns, monkeys stuffed to look like pygmy humans'. (3) *Samara*. 'The people here are wild idolaters; they have a king who is both great and rich'. There was much fish to be had, 'the best in the world'. The people lived on rice, and made an intoxicating liquor from palm-juice. (4) *Dagroian*, whose people were 'very wild' cannibals practising genocide. (5) *Lambri*. The people were idolaters; camphor, spices and

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brazil wood were found in great quantities; there were reports of hill men with tails. (6) *Fansur*. The people were idolaters; its camphor was the best in the world; a 'tree that produced flour' is mentioned.

Polo says that these small states were subjects of the Great Khan but did not pay tribute. At Samara he stayed in a camp 'fortified against the cannibals'. The location of Polo's place-names has been the subject of much debate among historians. *Ferlec* is clearly *Perlak*, the *Peureula*\* found in modern maps of Acheh just south of the point where the coast bends eastwards. It is the *Pa-la-la* of the Chinese and the *Pie-li-la* of the *History of the Yuans* which attributes to it an embassy in 1284 (Coedès, 1948: 340). In the *Nagarakertagama* it appears as *Parllak* (Ferand, 1918: 65). Krom (1926: 334) records a tradition that *Perlak* was founded before *Semudera* whose first ruler died in 1297 (see below page 11).

It was Yule who first proposed the identification of *Basma* with the *Pacem* of fifteenth century Portuguese maps and the *Pasai* of the Malay chronicles. Krom (1926: 336-37) seems to have assumed that Polo listed the places in the order in which he would have passed them on his voyage. He was unable to place *Dagroian*. Does he infer that Polo actually visited them? He argues that the other settlements must have been situated between *Perlak* and *Lambri*, and therefore *Basma* must be *Pasai* and *Samara Semudera*. R.A. Kern (1938: 310) takes *Samara* for *Semudera* and says that *Basma* must lie between *Perlak* and *Semudera*. But, he notes, there is no harbour of any size along this part of the coast. *Basma*, he says, is certainly not *Pasai*. The latter place-name does not appear until many years later.

These identifications were critically examined and in the main accepted by Coedès (1948: 340). But in a review of Kern's article Dr. H. K. J. Cowan (1939: 121) raises doubts. There is no place, he points out, between *Perlak* and *Semudera* which can conceivably be *Basma*. Must it lie between them, he asks, and is *Samara Semudera*? *Semudera* was soon to become a much more important place than *Perlak*. Polo was obliged to take refuge in *Samara* against his will. So *Samara* was not necessarily important. The phonetic resemblances between the names are superficial, and if this is the only criterion *Basma* might be *Pasangan*, modern *Peusangan*, and *Samara Samarlanga*. Both places lie on a river mouth, *Pasangan* on a fairly big one.

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\* For this and other place-names in north Sumatra see map on page 6.

If Dr. Cowan's view is accepted it does go some way towards explaining a point which has puzzled historians — Marco Polo's statement that in 1292 only Perlak was Muslim. In none of the other localities named by him had the inhabitants been converted to 'the Law of Mahomet'. Yet an inscription on a gravestone, one among many found in the Semudera-Pasai area, shows that Maliku'l-Saleh, the first Muslim ruler of Semudera, died in 1297. The view, taken by some historians that by this time there must have been a predominantly Muslim community in Semudera is certainly extravagant. Krom (1926: 336-7) made no such claim. But, as has already been noted, two of the state's chief ministers were apparently Muslims in 1282. Ten years later, and only five years before the death of a Muslim ruler, can its inhabitants have been the 'wild idolaters' reported by Polo?

It is not impossible. Marco Polo was above all a teller of stories. The hearsay evidence he reports, the things the local inhabitants told him, must not be mistaken for eye-witness accounts. His mention of a locality by name is no evidence that he himself set foot in it — he cannot, for instance, have gone anywhere near *Fansur*. What he found were communities of fishermen and gatherers of jungle produce living in estuarine colonies. He made a distinction between those who 'lived like beasts', primitive animists of hill and jungle, on the one hand and 'wild idolaters' who were presumably Hindus on the other. The latter would be settled in larger communities with some degree of social organization under their chiefs. They would be in touch with 'foreign' merchants. The flow of Muslim traders, visitors who brought their religion with them, was beginning to gather strength at the larger centres.

Arnold (1935: 364) has sketched the conversion process at work. Settling along the coast and in the lower reaches of the rivers, wherever there were centres of commerce, Muslim merchants formed a loose confederacy among themselves. All their superior intelligence and solidarity, which gave them a great competitive advantage, they employed in the service of their religion. By adopting the local language and customs, by inter-marriage, by the ownership of slaves as well as through the ordinary channels of trade they sought to expand their Muslim circle. They were careful to remain on friendly terms with the old aristocracy whose support they gained. By degrees they and their converts succeeded to positions of the highest responsibility in the community. By a simple attestation of loyalty to

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the new faith a Hindu chief and his court could become Muslim, with all the benefits it brought in such a milieu.

The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* conversion story of the pilgrim ship from Mecca (pp. 54-57) need not be taken as having any basis of historical fact. It reads, in fact, like a Sumatran version of the famous Indian legend of King Perumal (see note 113). But in so far as it represents the 'islamisation' of Semudera as having taken place with dramatic suddenness it reflects what may actually have happened between 1292 and 1297.

The location of Samara and Basma, if they are not Semudera and Pasai, may not be very important. Dr. Cowan is uncertain whether his view or Kern's is to be preferred. But if Samara is Semerlanga why should Polo have made no mention of a place like Semudera? It was soon to become more important, more frequently visited by Muslim traders, than Perlak. Had he never heard of it? *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* gives Semerlanga (pp. 46 & 50) as a place colonized by Maliku'l-Saleh's forefathers, and distinguishes it from the new place which the ruler founded (p. 54) and called Semudera. And need Basma have been on the coast at all? May it not have been somewhere in the hinterland?

Caution is needed in searching the Malay classics for evidence of geographical location. Nevertheless there are passages in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* which, I think, do give a background to the probable first site of Semudera-Pasai. Ulu Pasangan, the headwaters of the Pasangan river, is mentioned by name in two places. First on p. 52, as the region which Merah Silu (= Maliku'l-Saleh) reached after a journey of many days from his brother's domain at Beruana (modern Beureuen). Second on p. 58, as the region towards which the Gayo people fled from Semudera to escape islamisation. The Pasangan river is the longest and broadest anywhere along that stretch of coast, the only one allowing easy access far inland. Its reaches were a natural highway for the transport of jungle produce to traders near its mouth. The rapid growth of Semudera-Pasai would be easy to understand if it were located on the Pasangan estuary.

More than once *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* mentions royal journeys far upriver to a populated interior. (cf pp. 68 & 84). The story of the founding of Pasai (pp. 62-63), and its summary in *Sejarah Melayu* (Brown, 1952: 44), suggest that the two cities lay on opposite banks of the same river; Pasai quite close to the mouth (at Kuala Pasai, see p. 69) and Semudera a little further upriver. The account on pp. 67-68 of the journeys of the two

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rulers which led to their estrangement presents a confused picture which the *Sejarah Melayu* version does nothing to clarify. But their movements are not inconsistent with these locations for Semudera and Pasai.

On modern maps of Aceh, Pasai is shown only as the name of a river which flows into the gulf of Lho'seumawe. But Kern (1938: 310) says that there is a small village of that name some distance above the mouth of the Pasai river. It is in this region that most of the graves have been discovered. The estuary of the Lho'seumawe river lies west of Jambu Ayer Point, and about forty miles east of the Pasangan estuary.

May it be that the Pasangan river was the site of the old Semudera-Pasai capital, which later moved to the Lho'seumawe area? The history of South East Asia furnishes many examples of capitals shifting in this kind of way, as the power of a maritime kingdom waxed and waned and the balance between the desire for aggression on the one hand and the need for protection on the other altered. We need not assume that an attack on Pasai by Majapahit ever took place on the scale depicted on pp. 97-99 of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. History affords no hint of any break in the Semudera-Pasai line. The Pasai court survived until the sixteenth century when the territory was annexed by Aceh. But some external act of aggression, a piratical raid perhaps on the mouth of the Pasangan river, may have impelled it to seek refuge in the greater shelter of the Lho'seumawe river. This point will be considered again in the light of what the Pasai grave inscriptions tell us.

Two other travellers from the west have given impressions of what they saw on the north coast of Sumatra during their brief stays there at the time of the ascendancy of Semudera-Pasai. In 1321 Fr. Odoric of Pordenone, an Italian priest, visited the Aceh coast. Of *Lamori* he wrote that the people there went about naked, were polygamists and cannibals and practised child adoption. They had wheat, rice, gold and camphor. Foreign merchants sold them slaves. Of *Sumoltra* ('to the south') Fr. Odoric said 'The people . . . brand themselves on the face with a little hot iron in some twelve places'. The place was a market for pigs, fowls, butter, rice and a fruit called *mussi* (Ar. *mauz*, Skr. *mocha*, plantain?). The people of *Sumoltra* were at war with *Lamori*. (See Odoric, 1914: 146-50).

Fr. Odoric's remarks are too trite to be of critical value to historians. But his mention of pagan ritual and the possession of pigs is interesting. A generation after the death of the first

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Muslim ruler the new religion must have been practised only by the few. It was making slow headway against the Hinduism of the old aristocracy and the primitive beliefs of the common folk which existed side by side with it.

The claim of the Arab Ibn Batuta to have visited northern Sumatra is generally accepted, though doubt has been cast on the veracity of some of his statements and Ferrand (1918: 65) has even suggested that he may not have gone there at all. Four good modern editions of the travels of Ibn Batuta, or commentaries on them, have been published since the Rev. S. Lee's English translation appeared in 1829.

In 1345/46 Ibn Batuta paid two visits to Semudera, spending two weeks there. He describes a large walled city where he was hospitably received by the ruler's lieutenant in an ante-room in the palace (esp. see Defremery &c., 1879: 230-39). He was given food and clothing after the custom of the country. A house of wood in the palace grounds was placed at the disposal of his party. On the third day he had an audience with the ruler 'Malik al-Zahir, the Sultan of Zabaq [an Arab name for South East Asia], a most illustrious and open-handed ruler' (see Gibb, 1929: 273-76). Ibn Batuta was impressed by the Sultan's religious zeal, his love of debate with the Shafi'i theologians at his court, his humility in attending the Friday mosque service when he put off his royal robes and journeyed on foot, his constant raids on the infidels. The author describes the pageantry of the capital; mounted processions, musicians playing and horses prancing, ministers parading in their uniforms. He comments on a palace intrigue which led to the Sultan's brother fleeing into exile. He was present at the wedding of the ruler's son.

This picture of a wealthy court living on the profits of an important trade emporium is supported by *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. The lavishness of the gifts presented by Maliku'l-Saleh to Shaikh Ismail on his departure from Semudera (p. 58) may be exaggerated. But the description of the prosperity of Semudera-Pasai 'in the days of the two brother-kings' (p. 66) is no doubt justified. The writer was telling of events which took place only a generation before his own time. It is unfortunate that in this passage part of the text is too corrupt for translation. Other passages (see e.g.: 75 & 78-81) reinforce Ibn Batuta's remarks about the life of luxury led by the royal household.

One further reason may be given for the growth of these north Sumatran commercial centres. Their rise to fame may

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not have been quite so sudden as the evidence given so far would suggest. Polo writes, as we have seen, of 'idolaters' who were Hindus living under a 'great and rich king'. Odoric notes Hindu ritual. References in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* to hair style, for instance (on pp. 75 ff.), and to elaborate costume which includes weapons of Indian origin (cf. pp. 75 & 78) show that, as with other Malay courts, Indian customs prevailed in Semudera-Pasai long after the introduction of Islam. The common people, the pagan *rayat*, are seldom mentioned except as a labour force for building a palace (p. 62) and as a hastily improvised militia recruited to repel invasion (p. 68) although they are usually allowed the dog's share in the presents distributed at royal functions. Long before Majapahit influence became appreciable in north Sumatra there must have been a powerful Hindu aristocracy in Semudera.

The pre-Muslim name of the first ruler was Merah Silu. *Merah* is the title of a north Sumatran chief. *Silu* seems to be a Sinhalese form of Skr. *Chula*. The account (pp. 50-53) of Merah Silu's activities during his wanderings before he came to Semudera reflect the ease with which a wealthy and resourceful Hindu could get himself acclaimed, his needs met and his leadership accepted, by the people of the country.

Early in the Christian era Pallava traders from the Coromandel coast reached Kedah. Using the monsoons for the direct passage across the Bay of Bengal they needed a landfall at the north end of the Straits of Malacca. Kedah, with its easily recognized landmark in the form of an isolated mountain and its supply of fresh water, was the ideal place. In a recent paper Braddell (1958: 36-38) has traced the history of Kedah from the fourth century A.D. It was an important part of Srivijaya when in the eleventh century attacks were made by the Cholas on its capital at the foot of Kedah Peak, called by the Sanskrit name of Kataha. But the break-up of Srivijaya was just beginning. By 1200, Kataha has disappeared from history. Perhaps an attack from the north (Ligor? which was independent by 1230) led to its sacking. What more natural than that the Indian traders, denied free access to Kataha, should have chosen their port of call along the north coast of Aceh? There was scope for the development of an entrepôt trade, the sea journey was actually shorter. A hundred years before the first part of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* was written Semudera may have been a growing trade emporium.

Which sultan was it whom Ibn Batuta met in 1345? Aristide Marre in a footnote to his French translation (1874: 44-45)

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assumes that Ibn Batuta's Maliku'l-Zahir is the Maliku'l-Tahir of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, though he realizes that this creates a difficulty in dating the reigns of the early rulers of Semudera-Pasai. Since then others, who have probably never read Marre, have taken the same view. But the evidence against it is strong.

*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* gives Maliku'l-Tahir a fairly short reign. His early death is mentioned on p. 63, but the passage is omitted in the *Sejarah Melayu* summary. Moquette (1913: 11 et seq.) has given details of a Pasai grave-inscription which records the death of a Maliku'l-Zahir in 1326. The Maliku'l-Tahir of the Malay classics may well have been this ruler. The active and zealous king whom Ibn Batuta met could scarcely have come to the throne nearly fifty years earlier on the death of Maliku'l-Saleh.

Kern (1938: 310) has described the Semudera-Pasai grave-complex which lies some distance up the Pasai river. No grave-stone is known which records the death of a Maliku'l-Tahir. Moreover an inscription on one of the gravestones read by Hurgronje (1907: 15) makes it clear that the personal name of the ruler who died in 1326 was Muhammad. And from a study of coins of the period Krom (1926: 392) has shown that this ruler's successors, Ahmad and Zainalabidin, were also called Maliku'l-Zahir. It seems quite likely that one of them, probably Zainalabidin, was 'the late Sultan Maliku'l-Zahir, the Khan of the previous times (?)' whose daughter's death in 1389 is the subject of a grave inscription discussed below (see pp. 21-22).

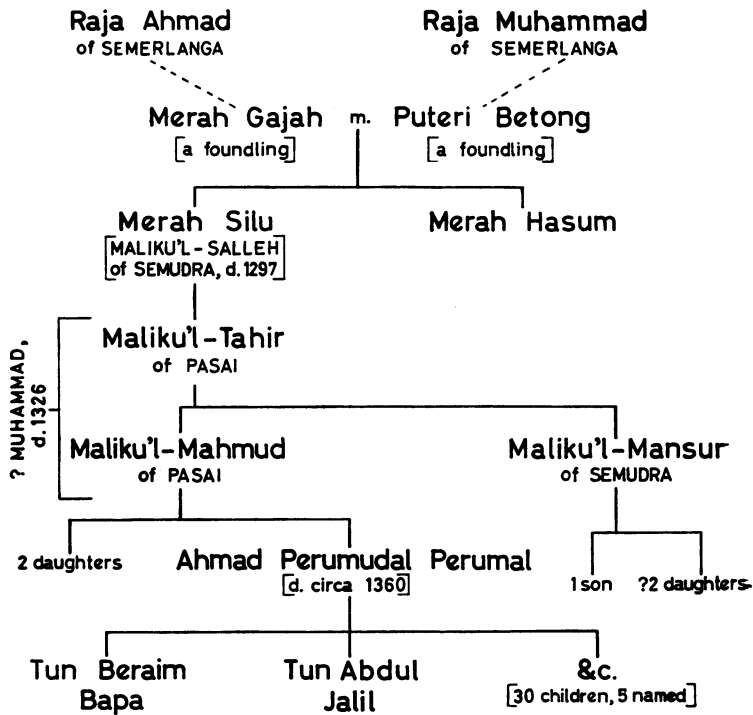
The distinction between Maliku'l-Zahir (ظاهر 'The Victorious King') and Maliku'l-Tahir (طاهر 'The True King') is crucial. Maliku'l-Zahir is an honorific, taken probably by the second ruler whose name was Muhammad and who died in 1326. It was retained by the third and fourth rulers, presumably because they liked its sound, and it became a dynastic title. In an age of illiteracy memory was short. In the next generation the title might have come to be thought of as a personal name of its originator. Has a copyist, editing the original text of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, made this mistake and turned Zahir into the common Malay name Tahir?

This may account for the discrepancies between the two versions of the genealogies. The pandita who examined the old text had to account for events which took place, according to tradition, during the reign of a ruler known to him as Maliku'l-Mahmud. These events belonged to the more recent past than

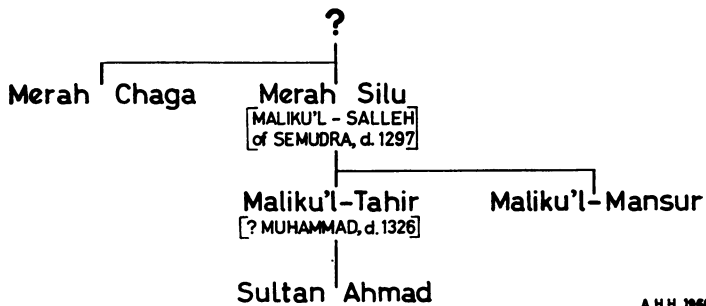
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## Genealogies of the Rulers of Semudra-Pasai

### 1. According to HIKAYAT RAJA-RAJA PASAI



### 2. According to SEJARAH MELAYU



A.H.H., 1960

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those ascribed to Maliku'l-Tahir. Information about them was more reliable. In *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* they have an authentic ring which is lacking in the earlier reigns (pp. 65-73 *passim*). To account for the change of name the copyist may have invented, or perhaps tradition invented for him, a story of the premature death of Maliku'l-Tahir. The sentence recording this ruler's death comes immediately after one mentioning the birth of two sons to him. Their names are given as Maliku'l-Mahmud and Maliku'l-Mansur. After the death of Maliku'l-Tahir it has to be their grandfather Maliku'l-Saleh who looks after the two princelings until they come of age, when Mahmud becomes ruler of Pasai and Mansur of Semudera.

In describing the events in the reign of Maliku'l-Mansur of Semudera the two Malay accounts substantially agree. But in the *Sejarah Melayu* not only is there no mention of Maliku'l-Mahmud, but also the events in which he took part during his reign — the Siamese raid on Pasai, for instance, and the working out of the feud between the two brothers — are all attributed to Maliku'l-Tahir. The brother kings are called Tahir and Mansur, not Mahmud and Mansur, and they are sons not grandsons of Maliku'l-Saleh (B., p. 93). And it is to his son Ahmad that Maliku'l-Tahir, after apparently a fairly long reign, gives his dying injunctions (p. 99). This all sounds much more probable.

The conclusion is inescapable that Tahir and Mahmud were really one and the same person. The author of the *Sejarah Melayu* gained the wrong name from his text of the Pasai story. But the fact that his source gave him the knowledge necessary to avoid the more serious error of introducing a spurious king into the Semudera-Pasai line suggests that the solecism was the work not of the original author of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* but of a later copyist (see section B).

Mahmud (محمود) is very likely the Muhammad (محمد) d. 1326 of the grave inscription. Ferrand (1913: 13) has illustrated how unreliable, because of the hazards in reading similarly formed letters, Arabic names can be. I cannot reconcile the genealogies given in the two Malay classics with the evidence of the grave and coin inscriptions in any other way. We do not know whether Maliku'l-Saleh ('The Pious King') had another personal name. About Mansur who, according to the two Malay versions, died young at a place far away from his native land (p. 72), the inscriptions are as far as I can ascertain silent. But if my conclusions are accepted the Semudera-Pasai line becomes Maliku'l-Saleh d. 1297 — Muhammad d. 1326 — Ahmad — Zainalabidin. This is the genealogy proposed by Krom.

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*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* gives Ahmad a long reign. He came to the throne as a young man, if not while still a child, and he had thirty children (p. 73). Zainalabidin who succeeded him is not mentioned anywhere in the text. It must have been Ahmad too whom Ibn Batuta met in 1345/46. The only possible doubt arises from Ibn Batuta's picture of a learned patriot, humble before God and fearless in battle. This agrees better with the Malay character sketch of any of the earlier rulers than with that of the unscrupulous profligate who, according to the Pasai chronicler, burst on occasions into mock tears, tried to ravish his own daughters and murdered the two most famous of his sons from motives of jealousy. The writer has hardly a good word to say of him. But below (section B) I have shown that this part of the text is the least historical.

Maliku'l-Zahir is not found anywhere in Arabia as a royal title. But in India, whence Islam came to South East Asia, it may well have been common. The Indian provenance of the Islamic doctrines we find in South East Asia has been firmly established. Fifty years ago Hurgronje (1908: 69-71) stated the reasons why this must be so. There is nothing in ancient Arabic writings which testifies to direct observation of Java and Sumatra by their authors. The apparent evidence for this rests on mention of elephants, rhinoceros, camphor etc., or on place-names whose transliteration is very suspect. The large number of Arabic words which have passed into Malaysian languages show by the form they take that they have not come by a direct route from Arabia. Persian words point to Muslim India where they were used at the ruler's courts. In their customary religious practices and beliefs Malaysian Muslims show a wide variation from orthodox Arabic Islam.

The observation made by Moquette (1912: 436) that the stone of Maliku'l-Saleh's grave, and of others in the same place, came from Cambay has led to the belief that the Muslims who first brought the new faith to Semudera-Pasai were from Gujerat. The view that it was from Gujerat that Islam first came to Semudera-Pasai has been upheld by R. A. Kern (1938: 313), Bousquet (1938: 160) and others. It seems to have been accepted by most historians. But it has been challenged by Marrison (1951: 30-31), who considers that the first Muslim contact was from south India.

Marrison points out that the Cambay gravestones were imported some time after the death of Maliku'l-Saleh; also that, as Arnold (1935: 364) says, both in south India and in Indonesia Muslims belong to the Shafi school of Sunnism, a fact

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noted by Ibn Batuta. But the Muslims of Gujerat are predominantly of the Hanafi school, or else Shiah. Several sources, e.g. Nilakanta Sastri's work on embassies from south India, suggest that at the beginning of the fourteenth century Islam in south India was at least as strong as it was in Gujerat. The Hindu kings of Gujerat were not replaced by a Muslim dynasty until 1296.

The issue of whether the first Muslims came to north Sumatra from Gujerat or from south India may not be an important one. It is clear that influences came from both areas at a very early date. For centuries east-west trade had been in the hands of a mercantile caste whose ancestors had come from southern Arabia. Among these merchant seamen there must have been some who were Shafi. Their ancestors had formed trading settlements in both Gujerat and south India. But their descendants in both areas remained a single maritime community, carrying with them a more or less homogeneous culture wherever they went. It seems very likely that these were the people that brought Islam to South East Asia. A picture has already been given of the way the bearers of this maritime culture set to work among non-Muslims in their new trading centres. As Bousquet (*ibid.*) says: 'Ils furent les propagateurs d'un Islam tres mystique, tres hindouise, assez peu orthodoxe, mais aussi plus facilement accessible aux populations de civilisation hindouiste-javanaise'. *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu* are full of words introduced by this maritime culture: *bandar*, *nakhoda*, *lashkar*, *tandil*, *nisan* etc.

We have seen too how slow the process of islamisation must have been. The *Tao-i-chih-liao*, the journal of the traveller Wang Ta-Yuan dated 1349, gives much detail about the livelihood and commerce of the people of north Sumatra: Temiang, which he calls *Tan-Yang*, 'Fresh Water'; Lambri (*Nan-Wu-Li*); Semudera (*Hsu-men-ta-la*) — see Rockhill (1915: 143, 148 & 151). But there is no mention of Islam.

Another factor must have militated against the rapid growth of Islam. For several decades after its introduction it would have had to contend with the rise of Hindu Majapahit and the extension of its spheres of influence to the north. The *Nagara-kertagama* (1365) says that the principal 'islands' under the sovereignty of Malayu were *Parlak*, *Barat*, *Lwas*, *Semudera* and *Lamuri*. Ferrand (118, 65-66) puts *Barat* on the coast of Aceh, the *Bara* (= *Barus*) of Barros's *Decades*. Of *Lwas* he says '= *Lawas*, *Padang Lwas* or *Gayu Luas*'. It was not until a hundred

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red years later that Islam in Malaysia succeeded in undermining the political authority of Majapahit.

The late fourteenth century history of Semudera-Pasai really lies outside the scope of this work. But two grave inscriptions belonging to this period must be noted for the light they throw on some questions already discussed. Both come from a graveyard in the village of Minye Tujoh which lies in Mockim Ara Keumoedi between the Pasai and Jambu Ayer rivers and may have been at one time part of Pasai. Both are of the same stone, apparently from the same grave and therefore referring to the same person, although final proof of this is still lacking.

Bosch (1915: 127-29) has commented on details given him by Moquette. The inscription on the headstone, in Arabic, was partially read as recording the death of a queen or princess in 1389. But the other inscription, in a script that 'looked like Kawi', defied interpretation for twenty years. Then Stutterheim (1936: 268-79) produced an epigraphic analysis which showed that it recorded the death of a *raja iman*, a 'queen of the Faith'. His reading is '(After the) hijrah of the Prophet — the Chosen One — she who departed, seven hundred eighty and one year, (on) Dzu'l-hijjah, the fourteenth, Friday, (was) Queen of the Faith Varda (?) Rhamatallah, (from) the House Bharubha (sa) (which) has rights on Kedah and Pase, having sprouts all over the world. My God, O My Lord, Lord of the Universe, place (our) first Lord in heaven!'. Sir Richard Winstedt (1939: 126) has slightly amended this translation. He reads '. . . the House Bharubha (?) which owns the possessions Kedah and Pasai . . . '.

Stutterheim says that the alphabet has strong affinities with that of the inscription of the Sumatran king Adityavarman of Malayu. So it is evidently a well-preserved copy of an Old-Sumatran alphabet, which originated from first contact between Malayu and Java but then developed quite independently into one of purely Sumatran use and character. Stutterheim also says, and Sir Richard Winstedt agrees, that the inscription is in the form of a *sha'ir*.

The Arabic inscription reads 'The sublime Queen Alalah (?), daughter of the late Sultan Maliku'l-Zahir, the Khan of the previous times (?), the son of his father the Khan of Khans (?) — may Allah cover him with His satisfaction — on the fourteenth, on Friday, of Dzu'l-hijjah A.H. 791 [= 4 September A.D. 1389]'. It may be noted that the dates on the two stones differ only in the tens of the year.

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The Bharubha or Bharubhasa of the O.-S. inscription may be, Stutterheim thinks, Broach. Broach is an anglicized form of Bharuch, an ancient and still surviving city of Gujerat, the Bharu-Kachchha of the Sunnar cave inscription, Greek Barygaza and the Bargasé of Strabo. If the two Minye Tudjoh inscriptions refer to the same person the conclusion must be that some sixty years after Sultan Ahmad came to the throne of Pasai Muslim rulers of the same line, probably from Gujerat, reigned in Pasai and in Kedah. Tradition tells of a Shaikh Abdullah who converted Kedah in the thirteenth century. Stutterheim notes another tradition to the effect that the Semudera-Pasai dynasty was founded by 'a stranger from the West'. We have seen how favourable circumstances were to a merchant of means who wished to establish himself in north Sumatra. Was Merah Silu a Gujerati?

Evidently the Semudera-Pasai line continued unbroken after the death of Ahmad. The deceased queen's father and grandfather, the two Khans of the Arabic inscription, were presumably Zainalabidin and Ahmad. It may be fanciful to read into the titles 'Khan of the previous times' and 'Khan of Khans' a reference to a wealthier age in the past. Such laudatory honours were customary on grave inscriptions. They probably meant no more than 'the late king'. Nevertheless some evidence already noted does suggest that a reverse occurred towards the end of the reign of Ahmad, a change of fortune which perhaps closed it.

If we accept the evidence of the Nagarakertagama Islam must have suffered a reverse before 1365, when Hindu Majapahit was able to interrupt Muslim trade through the Straits of Malacca. The settlements in the Pasangan river area came under the influence of Malayu, itself part of Majapahit. About 1360 seems a reasonable date for this to have happened — a booty-grabbing raid, blockade by sea, occupation by armed force or whatever it may have been. By this time Ahmad must have been well on in years. He had been in the full vigour of life, but no longer a young man, when Ibn Batuta saw him fifteen years earlier.

The last part of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* describes Ahmad's defeat by a Majapahit landing force. The conquering troops remained 'for some time' in occupation of Pasai. Then after loading their ships with vast quantities of goods they sailed back to their homeland. The captives they took with them were allowed to settle at liberty in Java (p. 99). The rest is a panegyric on the greatness of Majapahit, the enormous amounts of

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Northern Sumatra and adjacent areas, detail traced from a photograph of the map drawn by Francisco Rodriguez about A.D. 1513, and now in the British Museum, London. This is the earliest known map reference to Pacem [= Pacem]. See text, p. 24. (JMBRAS, 33, (2), 1960, p. 23: C.A.G.-H. del).

plunder and tribute that reached the capital, the festivities and rich entertainments that were a familiar sight in its streets.

This part of the text must have been written after 1360. Yet the fate of the Pasai court is dismissed in the short statement (p. 98) that Ahmad fled from Pasai and set up his court at a place called Menduga, about fifteen days' journey from Pasai. Nothing whatever is said about its subsequent history. Obviously the author knew nothing.

I have been unable to locate Menduga. Was it in the Lho'seumawe area? We do not know when the Cambay grave-stones were set up. And was the author of the concluding passages of the text as we have it now part of an irredeemable element that remained in Pasangan after a political upheaval to enjoy the prosperity brought there by a Hindu trade monopoly? He wrote straightforward Malay with nothing to show a personal bias towards Muslim traders.

One last point, interesting for the light it throws on later history, must be made about the Minye Tadjoh inscriptions. If indeed a single Muslim family ruled Pasai and Kedah, this is an additional reason why Parameswara, the founder of Malacca ca 1400 and according to some accounts a Palembang prince, should have changed his name to Iskandar Shah and found a Pasai princess as his bride (see Pires, 1944, (2): 242). His Muslim title of Sultan Megat obviously came with Islam from Pasai. *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* mentions (p. 53) a chief named Megat Kedah. The Trengganu stone of 1380(?) in a Malayo-Arabic script shows that the Muslim influence which originated in Semudera-Pasai had by that time spread to the eastern shore of the Malay Peninsula. On the relations between Pasai and Malacca in the fifteenth century Sir Richard Winstedt's comments (1940: 150) are of much interest.

The Portuguese knew Pasai as Paçem. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira visited it in 1509. The first Portuguese map to mark it by name is Francisco Rodriguez's chart of ca 1513. Close ties remained between Pasai and Kedah after the rise of Malacca. Pasai as the name of an independent state finally disappears from the records after its conquest by Sultan Ibrahim of Aceh in 1524.

### **B. The Pasai Chronicle**

This is the title which historians, in so far as they notice it at all, now give to *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. But it may be

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misleading. The usual Malay word translated chronicle or annals is *sejarah* (Ar. *shajara*, genealogy). Modern research has shown that the historicity of the *Sejarah Melayu* is higher than the early commentators on Malay historiography supposed: — see, for instance, Wilkinson (1905: 32-35). The Malay Annals has some claim to its English title. But the Pasai Chronicle is a *hikayat*, a semi-historical romance in which only here and there can be found a hard core of fact in stories taken from the old myth-complexes of South East Asia. Snouck Hurgronje called it 'a children's fairy tale' (1907: 15). I hope to show that this aspersion is undeserved. But it is fair to say that in general the events described in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* were, to those who compiled it, subjectively rather than objectively true.

Only one manuscript is extant. It was copied for Raffles in Batavia by a scribe who says in the last paragraph of the text, after the fashion of Malay copyists, that he completed the work on 2 January 1814. He does not give his name. But certain peculiarities in the calligraphy, some unusual ways of writing reduplicated words for example and inconsistencies in spelling, show that it was not Ibrahim, the doyen of Raffles's scribes who copied several mss in Malacca and Batavia and is mentioned in Munshi Abdullah's autobiography.

Immediately below the last line of the text there is one sentence written in an old Javanese script. It reads: '... from ... Kiai Suradimanggala, the senior regent (*bupati*) of the province of Demak, in the Bagor area, year 1742' (see p. 42). The year 1742 of the Saka era corresponds with A.D. 1814. Was this postscript written by the regent's agent or messenger in Batavia, perhaps at Raffles's suggestion, before he took the borrowed original back to his master in Demak? Of this original manuscript we know nothing more. It must have been one of the last manuscripts which Raffles had copied. Most of the volumes in the Raffles collection bear dates not later than 1812.

The 1814 manuscript was one of those taken to England by Raffles in 1816 and left to his widow on his death. On page 3 there is a panel stamped with the words 'Presented by Lady Raffles to the Royal Asiatic Society January 16th 1830'. A note in pencil on the inside cover reads 'Hikayat Raja Pasei — Raffles No. 67'. It was written by van der Tuuk when he made a catalogue, published in 1868, of the Malay manuscripts in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

The writing is clear and uniform, in the same hand throughout. Raffles's copyist made no erasures. Lines and margins are absolutely regular and even. As usual the conventional exordia

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to a fresh paragraph, *al-kēsah*, *sa-bermula*, *maka tersebut-lah per-kataan*, and the rest appear in red ink; all other words, including the attributes of Allah, in black. A few pencil corrections are found in the margin, *berkenaan* for *berkanan* on p 18, *khanjar-nya* for *sanjar-nya* on p 40, *persalin* for *persila ini* on p 56—probably the work of Dulaurier or van der Tuuk.

Some anomalies of spelling have already been mentioned. Compound words with reduplicated stems are usually spelt out in full, without the use of the *angka dua* which appears in root words to show reduplication. The dots above and below letters are often lacking or wrongly placed. A long word may start near the end of one line and finish on the next. The spelling of rare words of Arabic and Persian origin is inconsistent. In general the spelling is archaic, omitting final vowels so that one might read *perah* for *perahu*, *elak* for *elok*, *kak* for *kaki*, *toh* for *tua* etc. In his Jawi text Dulaurier treats many of these anomalies as mistakes and corrects them. But he misreads several words.

The text of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* is fairly short, about 30,000 words, less than half the length of *Sejarah Melayu*. The 1814 manuscript runs to seventy-two pages. Variations in the style of writing as well as the subject matter considered in the light of history show that, like the *Sejarah Melayu*, it was not the work of a single author. Such documents were rare and valuable things, kept carefully in the court archives to preserve them from decay. From time to time a fresh copy would be made by a pandita who alone, in an age of illiteracy, would be allowed access to the manuscript. He was at liberty to make what corrections he liked in the text, and to add new material to bring it up to date, in the light of his personal experience and literary background, and the religious and political prejudices of his times.

A document containing at any rate the first part of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, which describes the islamisation of Semudera-Pasai, must have reached Malacca in the fifteenth century. The author of the earlier part of *Sejarah Melayu* gives a summary of it. I have tried to show (see below) that where the two versions materially differ the changes are, in the main, just those that would be expected of a savant writing at the Malacca court towards the close of the century. By this time the events described in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* were no longer thought of as relevant even as a background to current affairs. Its text was not made the subject of extensive revision and supplementation as was that of its topical successor, the *Sejarah Melayu*. (Even today there is no established text of the *Sejarah Melayu*. One

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manuscript in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library has a long final section dealing with eighteenth century Palembang). Later copyists no doubt altered a word here and there, substituting what they knew and understood for the archaisms of their age. But the changes they made affected only minor details.

*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* is written in classical Malay like that of *Sejarah Melayu*. It may not be too much to say that the former produced the first distinct Malay literary style which found its full expression a century later in the latter. Convention demanded that before starting on an important undertaking like marriage negotiations or a royal picnic those taking part must wait for 'a propitious day'. *pada (ketika) hari yang baik*. Armies in the field, expeditionary forces, armadas are always 'in numbers past counting', *tiada terhisabkan lagi banyaknya*. When bad news is brought to the court the king and queen 'fling themselves on the ground, rending their coats and tearing their garments', *menghempaskan diri-nya dan membelah-belah baju-nya dan mencharek-charek kain-nya*. Fanciful stories are given to account for the origin of place-names like Kerbau Kampong (p. 51), Pekersang (p. 53), Padang Si-Busok (p. 103) and several others. Almost always the explanations end with the same words, 'the name by which it (the town or locality) has been known up to the present day', *di-sebut orang sampai sekarang*. An exception is Padang Maya on p. 71, where the author admits to some uncertainty whether the explanation he gives of its origin is the right one, and the *Sejarah Melayu* gives another.

The influence of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* on the *Sejarah Melayu*, and on other Malay histories like the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* (The Kedah Annals) can be clearly seen. To explain the dynastic origins of ruling houses old Indian folk-tales like the bamboo princess and the 'sagacious elephant' are adapted to fit historical ancestors (pp. 46-49 and Appendix 2). The story of the mousedeer fighting a dog (pp. 62-63) is made to account for the foundation both of Pasai and of Malacca. There is a parallel between the story of Tun Beraim Bapa, the young prince killed by the ruler for suspected treachery, in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and that of Sri Bija 'diraja' in Chapter 15 of *Sejarah Melayu*. Malay historiographers attached much importance to the last injunctions of dying rulers to their family and ministers. Three passages giving these wasiya at length occur in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, and the later histories contain still longer ones (see e.g. pp. 64-65 and note 70).

*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* is interesting for the picture it gives of the culture of the Semudera-Pasai court with its predomi-

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nantly Indian flavour. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the royal palace, its pageantry and colourful festivities, its lavish show of wealth on formal occasions, have been sketched in the last section. The emir who received Ibn Batuta at the palace was already known to him, for they had met in India some time before when the emir went as envoy to the Sultan of Delhi. Music-making and displays of horsemanship which Ibn Batuta witnessed and describes as like those he saw in India are mentioned several times in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*.

There are three passages in the text, the last a long one, describing episodes in the life of the court in which visitors arrive to play an important though shortlived part in it. A diviner finds gold-reefs in Semudera and great wealth accrues to Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. A yogi performs before Sultan Ahmad whose sanctity makes him faint. He becomes a Muslim and gives to the king the title Sultan Perumudal Perumal, which recalls the legend of the famous ruler of Cranganore. Four swashbucklers appear at the king's palace spoiling for a fight. But they retire discomfited before an exhibition of acrobatic virtuosity given by Tun Beraim Bapa (pp. 83-91). All three parties come 'by ship from India', *kapal dari benua Keling*. Early in the narrative (p. 58), before the completion of the Semudera conversion story, the author goes out of his way to mention the fact that Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh's two chief ministers Tun Seri Kaya and Tun Baba Kaya were given new names, Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din and (Sayid) Asmayu'd-din. These are Indian Muslim names which have never been popular in Malaysia.

The maritime culture of the Muslim settlers and the words it introduced into Malay have already been noted. Such words borrowed from Arabic, Persian, the Sanskritic tongues of India, Tamil etc. usually underwent some change of meaning in the new language. They often came to be used in a restricted, semi-technical sense in the language of commerce. Compilers of the Malay classics did not always understand the loan-words they liked to use. Such words made even less sense to copyists. They did their best to reproduce them, or else substituted other expressions which could be misleading. It is not surprising that in a few short passages *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, the earliest of the histories to be written in the 'new' Malay, should be too corrupt for translation. What colour was the *china kepaluan* of Tun Beraim Bapa's fantastic headdress on p. 79? What part of a Malay palace was the *lepau yang bernama dalkhana* (Pers. ?) on p. 74, which *Sejarah Melayu* alters to *ia-itu selasar istana*? What was the *sabasani* (Hind. ?) tree on p. 91? What kind

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of battle emblems were the *amb. l-amb.l k.mb.la-nya* on p. 98.

The way in which some of the Arabic words are used in the text is as striking as their spelling is wayward. We find for instance *'asta* for reef and *ma'din* for mine on p. 61 in place of the more usual *karangan* and *lombong*; and elsewhere *fitnah* in place of *perseteruan* (enmity), *hampir hukmu'llah* (near to the judgement of God) in place of *hampir akan mati* (near the point of death), *maghrur* (vainglorious) of material possessions instead of the common form *harta yang tiada kekal*. In places where the text can be compared with the summary of it in *Sejarah Melayu* the latter is often found to have a more commonplace expression in place of a high-sounding Arabic phrase — this in spite of the fact that elsewhere *Sejarah Melayu* uses the same Arabic words, usually in a context more appropriate to their meanings. For instance *zillu'llahi fi'l-'alam* (Shadow of God on Earth) is replaced by *chahaya mata kami* (light of our eyes), *pekerjaan yang tiada patut bagi (hukum) shar'* (actions not in accordance with holy law) by *pekerjaan yang keji* (blameworthy actions), and *segala yang tiada memberi manfaa' di-akhira* (things of no value in the world to come) by *isteri anak hamba kamu* (the wives and children of your subjects)—see pp. 64-65.

These few examples do not prove anything. But there are many others like them scattered throughout the text. They seem to suggest that the first Pasai text was revised at an early stage by a writer who was a zealous Muslim. He made a number of mistakes. In the prayer at the grave of his murdered minister (p. 72) for instance the exiled Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur uses the phrase *qauma'l-mu'-minina*, 'O People of the Faithful', where *ahla'l-qubur*, 'O People of the Grave', is appropriate. The author of *Sejarah Melayu* seems to have used an earlier version of the Semudera-Pasai story written before the revision was undertaken. But on this point the evidence will be clearer when we have compared the two versions (see below).

A few other points of language may be briefly noted, not only for an understanding of the text but also for the light they throw on the growth of literary standards in old Malay. *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* merits attention as the oldest literature in 'Malacca' Malay known to us. The text employs in its own way most of the court Malay expressions found in the later classics. Honorific forms of the kinship terms are used; *ayahanda* for *ayah*, *chuchunda* for *chuchu*, *nenenda* (or *nenda*) for *nenek* etc.; also, to denote social relationship as well, *bonda* for *ibu*, *mamanda* for *mamak*, *kakanda* (or *kanda*) for *kakak*. We see the beginnings of the use of the *bahasa dalam* words applicable

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only to a ruler. But the less deferential equivalent is more often used. *Sakit* is much commoner than *gering*, *marah* than *murka*, (ber)-*anak* than *putera* or *puteri*, *berjalan* than *berangkat*, *mati* than *kembali* (or *pulang*) *ka-rahmatu'llah*. The last two are sometimes found together in the same sentence (cf. p. 63). *Baginda* is used as a third personal pronoun for the ruler; also for important princes like Tun Beraim Bapa. But the vulgar forms *ia* and *-nya* are used of rulers as well, a practice rejected as a solecism by the Malacca writers a century later.

A range of words almost as wide as that of *Sejarah Melayu* is employed to designate the court officials and the fighting ranks of the kingdom. The variety of terms used to denote their separate functions and positions in the hierarchy shows a feudal division of society. Although the compilers of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* did not achieve consistency in the use of words distinguishing class from class, they were always conscious of social status — see for instance the description of the Perlak marriage negotiations on pp. 59-60. There were the ministers (*menteri*), the chiefs (*hulubalang*), the courtiers (*sida-sida*), the court attendants (*embuai*), the learned men (*pandita*). Any senior official was *orang besar-besar*. The village headmen, who led small parties of fighting men for their chief, were called *pendikar* (leaders) or *penghulu* (headman). Below the commander-in-chief (*panglima*) came the *phalawan* (champions, captains) and *penggawa* (officers) who were in charge of sections of 'front-line' armed troops (*lashkar*). At the bottom of the military scale were the *raayat*, the common people of the country who acted as camp followers. We are told on p. 66 that after several weeks of indecisive fighting Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud ordered arms to be given even to the *raayat* to drive out the Siamese. The queen and the princesses led a life of easy luxury. They were accompanied everywhere they went by maids-of-honour (*perwara*). To minister to their every need they had maids-in-waiting (*inang*), female attendants (*dayang-dayang*) and nurses (*pengasoh*). Menial tasks in the palace were performed by slave-girls (*beti-beti*).

The ruler, and also occasionally Tun Beraim Bapa, is addressed as Your Highness (*tuanku*). The epithet *shah alam*, Lord of the Universe, is almost always added, and sometimes *zillu'llahi fi'l-'alam*. Once or twice the Arabic-Sanskrit form *daulat dirgahayu* 'May you live for ever' is found (see p. 58). The most remarkable example of a hybrid form is on p. 55 where 'in the life-time of the Prophet' is rendered as... *tatkala lagi hayat hadzrat yang maha mulia itu*. The ruler of Perlak's daughter is called *paduka anakanda* on p. 60, but this title (Skr. = foot-

wear) is not used elsewhere in the text for a princess. In the fourteenth century the development of these foreign-sounding titles and appellations into the elaborate forms which literary custom demanded at the Malacca court was only just beginning.

*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu* show a remarkable similarity in their free choice of pronouns of the first person, and to a lesser extent of the second person also. A ruler addressing his subjects may use *kita* of himself or the more familiar *aku*. He may address them by their titles or as *tuan-tuan*, as often as not he just says *kamu*. In the presence of the king those of non-royal blood, from the chief minister downwards, usually speak of themselves as *patek* or *hamba*. Tun Beraim Bapa's friends address him sometimes as *tuanku*; but more often they say *tuan hamba* and speak of themselves as *hamba tuan* or just *sahaya*. Among themselves they use *sahaya* or *aku* without discrimination. As Brown (1952: 10-11) says 'In the *Sejarah Melayu* there is not yet that uniformity in the use of the pronouns of the first and second persons which became a literary convention in the next century'. In both works an honorific address or kinship form may stand for the first, second or third person. Where, as in a few passages, the context cannot decide between them the resulting confusion of subject makes translation difficult.

A few archaic words survive in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, which disappeared from Malay literature after the fifteenth century. An obsolete interrogative form *kutaha* ('Can it be that . . . .?') occurs several times in reported colloquial speech. A rare variant *bepersembahkan* appears for *mempersembahkan*, *nentiasa* for *sentiasa*, *penah* for *pernah*, *kendiri* for *sendiri* and (once) *mangkin* for *makin*. But apart from the first the later or 'normal' form of the word is more often used.

When a fresh edition of a manuscript was made a change of style as well as subject matter might serve to distinguish the addenda from the old text with whatever alterations had been put in it. But the work of later copyists tended to blur these breaks in the text, making their recognition more difficult. The Malay scribe wrote a continuous narrative, usually without headings or divisions of any kind. Sometimes too he inserted references, whether in the old text or in his own contribution, it is usually impossible to say, to people and events which he himself subsequently described, cf. mention of Princess Gemenchang's infatuation for Tun Abdul Jalil on p. 75, and the full story given on pp. 92-95. A Malay classic presents history as a

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succession of episodes often with only the most nebulous thematic connection between one and the next. From an abrupt change in subject matter we can infer a new author only if the facts of history justify it. Variations in literary style may be a better guide to change of authorship.

Reasons have been given above for thinking that in the case of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* this process of revision and addition is unlikely to have gone far. We have no means of knowing whether the Demak manuscript was an old text. One thing only is certain, that the 1814 manuscript was as accurate a copy of it as Raffles's scribe could make it. The copyists in Malacca and Batavia were given a novel and irksome task. Anxious to apply the methods of European scholarship to old Malay-Javanese texts Raffles asked for exact copies of them. He did not want the usual *salinan*, with its supposed improvements. Nor, three to four hundred years after their age, could he have expected one.

I have divided the narrative into three parts. The reasons why I regard this division as not purely arbitrary, but as delineating phases in the editing of the manuscript as we have it now, will be clear from a consideration of the text. But first a synopsis of the story, episode by episode, must be given.

### **Part 1. The Islamisation of Semudera-Pasai**

(1) Introduction. Two brothers at Semerlanga each become the possessor of a foundling child. The two children are brought up together, marry and have two sons, Merah Silu and Merah Hasum.

(2) After quarrelling with his brother Merah Silu spent some time moving from place to place on the Pasangan River. Eventually he became king of Rimba Jeran.

(3) One day when he was out hunting Merah Silu found a large ant (*semut besar*) which he ate. There he founded a city, calling it Semudera.

(4) The Caliph of Mecca heard of Semudera and in fulfilment of a prophecy made by the Apostle of God sent a ship there with a Shaikh Ismail as its captain. On the way it called at a place called Ma'abri, where the Muslim sultan forsook his throne and joined the ship as a *fakir*.

(5) Merah Silu had a dream in which the Prophet ap-

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peared to him and gave him the title of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. On waking he found that he had been magically circumcized. He was able to read the Koran without help, although none of his followers could understand a word he uttered.

(6) When the Muslim ship had reached Semudera Shaikh Ismail ordered the ruler to recite the profession of faith, then installed him with due ceremony. Shaikh Ismail departed with presents. The *fakir* remained in Semudera.

(7) A colony of Gayos fled from Semudera up the Pasangan river to escape conversion to the new faith.

(8) Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh married the daughter of the ruler of Perlak after consulting his astrologers. By her he had one son, Maliku'l-Tahir.

(9) The legend of the founding of Pasai. Maliku'l-Saleh was out hunting when his dog named Pasai barked at a mousedeer which attacked it on some high ground. Saying 'What a fine place this is where even the mousedeer are full of fight' Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh built a palace and a city on the high ground. He called it Pasai. Maliku'l-Tahir became its first ruler.

(10) An Indian miner by divination found gold in Semudera. This was the origin of the kingdom's great wealth.

(11) Maliku'l-Tahir died (after a short reign?). Of his two sons Maliku'l-Mahmud became ruler of Pasai and later, after the death of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh, Maliku'l-Mansur of Semudera. In the days of their childhood their upbringing was entrusted to two ministers of Semudera.

(12) On his death-bed Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh gave his last injunctions to his two chief ministers and his two grandchildren.

(13) A fleet from Siam raided Pasai when the king of Siam's demand for tribute was refused. The battle lasted two or three months before the Siamese forces were driven out by Maliku'l-Mahmud.

(14) Maliku'l-Mansur, visiting Pasai during his brother's absence, committed an indiscretion which led to their estrangement. Maliku'l-Mahmud by a trick banished him to Temiang, and beheaded his chief minister.

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(15) The banished ruler obtained the head and body of his dead minister and buried the corpse with proper rites at a place he called Padang Maya.

(16) Repenting, the ruler of Pasai invited his brother to return. But Maliku'l-Mansur died on the journey at Padang Maya as he was praying by the side of the grave. Full of remorse Maliku'l-Mahmud died and his son Ahmad came to the throne.

## **Part 2. The Adventures of Tun Beraim Bapa**

(1) A ship comes from India with a yogi acrobat on board. He performs feats of supernatural skill, then faints before the sanctity of Sultan Ahmad and is converted to Islam. It is he who gives the Sultan the title of Perumudal Perumal.

(2) Among Ahmad's thirty children by one wife three sons are named: Tun Beraim Bapa, of superhuman strength; Tun Abdul Jalil, of handsome appearance; and Tun Abu'l-Fazil, of great learning. Sultan Ahmad conceives a passion for two of his own daughters, and Tun Beraim Bapa hides them in his own village. His effrontery angers the Sultan.

(3) From India came four skilled fencers, insulting and provocative. Tun Beraim Bapa's display of horsemanship and *legerdemain* frightens them back to their ship, and his father forgives him.

(4) An approach by Tun Beraim Bapa to one of his father's concubines puts him in disfavour again. Anxious to find a way of killing him Sultan Ahmad organizes a river picnic, bidding him accompany it. Tun Beraim Bapa is put to tests of strength and courage.

(5) Finally the Sultan sends poison, which Tun Beraim Bapa takes rather than run the risk of being thought a traitor. After more trials of endurance he slowly weakens and dies on Bt. Fadlu'llah.

## **Part 3. The Victories of Majapahit**

(1) The daughter of the ruler of Majapahit falls in love with Tun Abdul Jalil after seeing his portrait. The jealous Sultan Ahmad kills his son. The princess prays that she may perish in the ship taking her to Pasai. It sinks and all on board are drowned.

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(2) In revenge a Majapahit fleet conquers and occupies Pasai after a hard fight. Sultan Ahmad and his court flee to Menduga. After a while the fleet returns to Java laden with the spoils of war.

(3) A description of Majapahit's plans for territorial conquest. Voyages of the fleet to the Riau and Lingga Archipelagos, the east coast of Malaya, the Anamba and Natuna Is., the coast of Borneo; then to Bali, Sumbawa and the islands to the east.

(4) Majapahit forces attack Pulau Percha. Agreeing to settle the issue by a buffalo contest they are worsted by a trick, then put to flight with many slain.

At the end of the manuscript, after the colophon and the Javanese postscript, there are three lists of place-names. They refer exclusively to places mentioned in the text; the first to some of the localities in north Sumatra named in Parts 1 and 2, the second and third to the thirty-six places claimed in Part 3 as having been conquered by Majapahit. A mistake in the name *Berau*, one of the places in Borneo mentioned in Part 3, looks like a misreading by the 1814 copyist, since he makes exactly the same mistake in the second list (see note 202) which he evidently compiled by copying words from his own text. A few names he miscopied; *Mengiri*, *Rama Gandi*, *Pemanggal*, *Karimata* (see note 222). Such lists are not found in other Malay manuscripts, nor would it have occurred to their authors to make them.

Why did Raffles require his scribe to list the place-names in order at the end of the manuscript? There is nothing in Raffles's writings which suggests that he ever read the text. He had never set foot in Aceh, though he had received the Achinese Order of the Golden Sword before he left Java for England in 1816 (see Gibson-Hill, 1956: 1-19). But the East India Company's record of trade in north Sumatra went back two centuries. In 1820 Raffles had hopes that Sumatra, lately restored to the Dutch except for Benkulen, would become a British colony which 'should eventually surpass all others' (Wurtzburg, 1954: 691).

The summary in *Sejarah Melayu* covers Part I only. It omits entirely the introduction at (1), with its mythological elements, and begins by saying as in (2) that Merah Silu quarrelled with his brother, and that he 'fled to the forest of Jerun'. In describing (3) and (4) the two versions agree closely, with *Sejarah Melayu* as usual the shorter. There are certain passages

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in both having almost the same words in the same order. In *Sejarah Melayu* the wording of the prophecy is slightly different. It lacks something of the exotic Arabic phraseology of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. But there can be no doubt that the author of the later text was using a written source very like Part I as we have it now (cf. Brown, 1952: 41 ff.)

The dream story in (5) *Sejarah Melayu* dismisses briefly, mentioning only the Prophet's spitting in Merah Silu's mouth. But further on in the same chapter a story with most of the Pasai details is ascribed to Raja Tengah who became Sultan Muhammad Shah of Malacca, ruling ca. 1424-44. (ibid., 52-3). There are other examples in *Sejarah Melayu* of episodes in Part I borrowed and adapted by change of names to the history of Malacca. The summary makes only a brief reference to the dog-musedeer myth of the founding of Pasai (9) in its proper sequence. But further on this story, in almost the same words, is told of the founding of Malacca by Iskandar Shah. Again, the summary gives an account of the Siamese raid on Pasai very different from (13). The ruler of Pasai is taken to Siam and held prisoner there for many years, until his chief minister by some pretensions and gifts of rare merchandise to the king of Siam secures his release. A story more like the Pasai account, with the demand for submission and its indignant refusal, the mobilization of all manpower to fight the enemy, the long drawn-out battle, is told about the first Siamese attack on Malacca which took place ca 1445 (ibid., 64-66).

In certain episodes there are significant changes of emphasis, usually in a direction which lends greater point to the story. In (6) for instance *Sejarah Melayu* is at pains to show that the test by which the pilgrims were to recognize Semudera when their ship reached it was to be, not that its king would be the first Muslim ruler to be met on their journey as *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* implies, but that he would be the only one able to read the Koran without previous instruction. In a short passage not found in the earlier text the summary mentions four places Fansuri (= Barus), Lamiri, Haru (= Aru) and Perlak, as visited before the ship made a landfall at Semudera. The inhabitants of all of them were admitted to the faith of Islam, although none read the Koran.

The summary gives a new twist to the marriage negotiations in (8) by saying that Maliku'l-Saleh's minister was not told in Perlak of the inferior status of Princess Ganggang, who was dressed up deliberately to attract his eye. There is no mention of the astrologers (ibid: 43). Again, the summary ignores the

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explanation of Padang Maya as Padang Mayat (The Field of the Phantom) in (15) and attributes it to a remark made by the exiled sultan in his boat as he looked towards the land near Jambu Ayer. He said "Padang maya ini?" (= *Padang apa ini*, What plain is this?).

The genealogical information given in (11), and in a few scattered sentences elsewhere in Part I, is considerably abridged in the summary. In section A. I have discussed a reconciliation of the two versions, involving the identification of Maliku'l-Tahir with his successor Maliku'l-Mahmud of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, and I have tried to show that the summary, which leaves out Maliku'l-Tahir's early death and some details of the succession, is the more historical. Both accounts agree that it was Maliku'l-Saleh who gave to the two chief ministers the task of bringing up the royal brothers. The ministers' names both Muslim and non-Muslim are the same if allowance is made for some vagaries of spelling.

Besides the introduction and the note about the astrologers in (8) there are other passages which pass without notice in *Sejarah Melayu*; the note about the status of Barus and Pasai on p. 55, the remarks about the infidel Gayos in (7) and the finding of gold by an Indian diviner in (10), the story of the Indian acrobat (which I have called (1) of Part 2) are among them. They interrupt the narrative, having no logical connection with what has gone before and what follows. The main purpose of all of them is to advertise the fame and importance of Semudera-Pasai.

The distinctive use of Arabic phraseology in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* might well be typical, as we have noted, of a Muslim editor at the Pasai court. When, for instance, in (6) Merah Silu reads the Koran the captain and the *fakir* say 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds'. But in the summary their remark is more relevant, 'This is indeed the country of Semudera of which the Prophet spoke'. Again, in recording the death of the exiled sultan at the grave-side at Padang Maya *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* says 'As he prostrated himself paying his vows, the judgement of God came upon him and the Angel of Death claimed his soul', while the summary has simply 'The thread of his life snapped and he died'. The same self-conscious air of erudition is displayed in certain passages in Part 2 although it is less marked. The author of Part 2 in any case must have been another person — see p. 41, below.

The alterations in certain episodes by the *Sejarah Melayu* 1960] Royal Asiatic Society.

author, and the use of others in different contexts, may not have been deliberate distortion. Oral tradition in Malacca may have suggested to him that the conversion-dream and dog-mouse-deer myths, for instance, were wrongly ascribed to Semudera. But he had good reasons for trying to deflate claims which Malacca would like to think pretentious. Hence his concern to show that in priority of conversion Semudera was not even *primus inter pares*; and his account of the humiliating Siamese raid on Pasai and its sequel. A century earlier in Pasai any revision of the original text would tend to go in the opposite direction. The detail about consultation of the astrologers, for example, might have been put in to suppress any inference that Sultan Malikul-Saleh had been deliberately duped by the king of Perlak. (See also note 93).

If any section of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* deserves Hurgronje's stigma of fairy-tale it is Part 2. The superhuman feats of a warrior-prince are a popular theme in Malay romance. To most of the exploits of Tun Beraim Bapa it is not difficult to find parallels in other folk-tales; his riding of *kuda semberani*, the winged Pegasus of Malaysian mythology, in (3); his wading along the bed of a river underwater to escape his pursuers in (4) and his fight with the *lambu* snake in (5).

Apart from the retention of Arabic phrases, which are less frequent in as much as the theme is secular not religious, the style of writing in Part 2 is quite different. The narrative is repetitious, as though meant to be chanted aloud like the tale of a professional story-teller. The development is cyclical, the same passage appearing three or four times in almost the same words. This is sometimes helpful in establishing the right text since Malay scribes do not usually make the same mistake twice. A liberal infusion of 'foreign' words has obviously confused copyists. Some like *dalkhana* (p. 75), *semerani* (p. 80), *kular* (p. 90) are partially explained at their first mention. But it is doubtful whether any of the readers and listeners to whom the writer appeals in the colophon would know exactly what an *orang seri* (p. 89) was.

Most striking is the archaic phraseology in which many of the passages are written. At its best it shows something of the genius of Malay colloquial style. At its worst it is untranslatable. Sir Richard Winstedt has shown (1939: 121) that Sultan Ahmad's words to 'the guardian of his women', uttered as Tun Beraim Bapa was causing a disturbance outside the palace at early dawn (p. 78), are expressed as a *gurindam*, and old

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Tamil verse-form. Another fine passage, which appears three times with only trivial variations, concerns Tun Beraim Bapa's protestations of innocence (see p. 84 and note 156). 'Did I wish to be a traitor, if against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me...'. A similar but shorter passage appears once in *Sejarah Melayu*. (Winstedt, 1938: 147).

The last quarter of the text is diffuse in subject matter as well as style. It may be the work of more than one hand. The earliest point at which a real break occurs in the narrative is difficult to determine. The section in Part 2 which describes the death of Tun Beraim Bapa is followed by a short passage about town-planning in Pasai. This reads like a postscript or perhaps a later interpolation. The next section, a long one which ends with the sack of Pasai by Majapahit forces, is written for the most part in simple, direct Malay in contrast to the archaic phraseology of Part 2 (pp. 92-97). A *pantun*, a Malay verse-form not found earlier in the text, appears twice in it. Precise terms for types of boats like *ghurab*, *kelulus* are used in place of the generic *perahu*. The unfolding of the story is straightforward, with no diversionary anecdotes. It is true that the story concerns Ahmad and two of his sons already named in Part 2, and that the usual Arabic phrases do occur in a few places. The battle scene on p. 97 is described in very much the same words as those on pp. 50 and 68. More than once, e.g. pp. 94 & 97, striking idioms from Part 2 are repeated. But these are part of the conventional fabric of Malay *hikayat*. They could have been copied. I think this section was written some time after Part 2 had been completed.

In general the style of the last five pages of the text is similar, but with an infusion of Javanese words and phrases. The text has *penggawa* for *hulubalang*, *pamit* for *bermohon*, *wetan* and *kulun* for *timur* and *barat*. Javanese civil and military ranks are used, *angebai*, *aria*, *lurah*, *bebekal*, *patinggi*, etc. The Jambi-Periangan area in south Sumatra is mentioned for the first time as *Pulau Percha*. No explanation of these words is given, so presumably they were familiar to the author's circle. One sentence of recorded speech (p. 100) is in Javanese.

If the author of episode (1) in Part 3 also wrote the next section about the victories and wealth of Majapahit, it may seem likely that he was using a special source of information. There is, it is true, no historical evidence whatever that the Majapahit fleet ever visited in force the places mentioned on p. 106-07. The description belongs to a popular class of Malay historiography which Dr. Berg has called 'a literary exercise'. Nevertheless

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whoever compiled it had a good knowledge of the geography of his day. The places reduced by Majapahit are mentioned in a logical order and arranged in groups. (These groups I have indicated on the map on p. 162). The fleet movements are sound from a navigational point of view. It is for instance reasonable that the fleet should have spent some time at Berau before returning to Java. The north-east monsoon would make the voyage up the east coast of Borneo impossible for five months of the year. But to talk of a special source is to evade the question. What could be the nature of the source? A document brought from Java? A 'contact' among the Majapahit forces occupying Pasangan?

One more obvious break occurs in the narrative, at the end of the passage describing the affluence of the Majapahit capital. The author of this encomium could scarcely have written the final episode in which the Majapahit troops are exposed to ridicule and their lives imperilled by a trick. This story brings *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* to a close on a curious note of anticlimax. For all that the style of writing is not unlike what has gone before it must surely be the work of a still later hand. The story of the buffalo contest, which furnishes a fanciful explanation of the word *Menangkabau*, is well-known in Sumatran-Malay romance, see Appendix 3.

Almost all the evidence which bears on the date of authorship has already been mentioned. Nowhere in the text is there any reference to Malacca or Singapore. The marriage of Iskandar Shah to a Pasai princess (soon after 1400?), the flight of the ruler of Pasai to Mansur Shah's court in Malacca after a rising against him (ca 1460?), these and other events in the fifteenth century history of Pasai would surely have been mentioned if they lay in the past? The whole of the text as we have it now, except perhaps for the final episode, must have been written not later than round A.D. 1390.

Part I must have been written during the reign of Sultan Ahmad. On p. 51 there is a story of Merah Silu catching galley-worms. Can the *gelang-gelang* be an obscure reference to the kingdom of Gegelang (in some mss. Kalang) which comes in the earlier Panji tales of Java? If so it must have been written before the name was altogether forgotten but after it had become a confused memory. Dr. Poerbatjaraka (1940: *passim*) has shown that in the later Panji mss the name was replaced by another, Oerawan. He puts the date of the change at round 1350. This would make 1350, a reasonable date on other grounds, the earliest to be assigned to Part I as we have it now.

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The first draft, or the one used by the author of *Sejarah Melayu*, could have been as early as 1330. The orthodox Muslim who revised Part I not later than about 1355 cannot have been the writer who attacked Ahmad's behaviour in Part 2. The latter was probably embodied in the text soon after the flight of the Pasai court. To allow time for Hindu cultural assimilation to take place in the void left in Pasangan we may perhaps assign a fairly late date to Part 3, say 1380-90. The revised manuscript may have remained behind in Pasangan where, as an interesting curiosity, it would come under just the influences we observe in Pts. 2 & 3 in increasing measure as time went on. An earlier manuscript may have been taken to the new Pasai capital whence in due course it found its way to Malacca.

### C. Texts

The 1814 manuscript has been examined thoroughly at least three times at the Royal Asiatic Society's rooms in London. First, Edouard Dulaurier made a transcription of it which he published in Paris in 1849 under the title *La Chronique du Royaume de Pasey*. It was the first volume in *Collections des Principales Chroniques Malayes* which was to be a series of printed editions in Jawi of the Malay classics, a project which greatly interested French Orientalists a hundred years ago. The second volume, by the same author, under the title *La Suite des Annales Malayes (Schedjarat Malayu)* was published in 1856.

Dulaurier's is the only printed Jawi text in existence today. It is found in most oriental libraries. The transcription is fairly good. There are fewer misreadings than in Mead's text (see below). Dulaurier has done some editing. He does not hesitate to correct 'traces très-fréquentes de l'ignorance ou de l'incurie du copiste' wherever he thinks they occur, and occasionally this leads him into error. As reference dictionaries he used Lijdekker's Malay and Gericke's Javanese. As is only to be expected of the times in which he wrote, his historical introduction and brief notes are of scarcely any interest nowadays. His locations of the Part 3 place-names, which he published in an earlier article (1846: 544-71), are often the result of mere guesswork. Some of them he makes regencies in Java!

At the suggestion of Sir Richard Winstedt, J.P. Mead, an officer of the Federated Malay States government, prepared a romanised edition of the 1814 manuscript. His text was published in 1914 in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (no. 66). Apparently he did not see Dulaurier's text. Comparing Mead's text with the original I have found

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no fewer than 341 misreadings or printing errors, an average of just over six per page. Many of these mistakes are trivial. But some like *bagi* for *budi*, *maaf* for *mengapa*, *pergi* for *perkasa*, *Semar Pandita* for *Semerkendi*, are crucial for translation. Mead's paragraphing is exiguous and often misleading. It is true, as I have pointed out, that the work of copyists has made the actual location of a dividing line between one part and the next a somewhat arbitrary one. Yet the most reasonable point I can find in the text for the beginning of Part 2 comes in the middle of one of Mead's paragraphs.

Lastly, Sir Richard Winstedt himself made a careful study of the 1814 manuscript. In 1938 he published a summary of the text with critical comments in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society* (16, (2), pp. 24-30). His observations in this and a few other shorter papers (see Bibliography) are of great importance. I have drawn on them for many details in this introduction.

Dulaurier's text was used by M. Leon de Rosny, a French japanologist who was prime mover in founding the International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, for a translation of certain passages in Part I which he published in 1871. Scholars from the time of Hurgonje have used their own translations for purposes of quotation. They seem never to have heard of the only complete translation, that made by Aristide Marre in 1874. I have never seen any reference to *L'Histoire des Rois de Pasey* outside the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, and very few even there. Marre's translation, also taken from Dulaurier's text without reference to the manuscript, is fairly accurate. No dictionary of his day could give him the help he needed to make much sense of archaic passages like those describing Tun Beraim Bapa's war-dress on p. 78, the rare morsels for the royal picnic on p. 82, and the verses on pp. 77 & 95. In one passage, the story of the wild buffaloes on p. 51, Marre's translation has been a help to me in elucidating a confused piece of Malay writing.

Marre has prefaced his book with some comments, of no modern value, on Dulaurier's historical introduction which he quotes in full. Marre's only original contribution is a fresh list of the place-names mentioned in the text. This list of fifty-two toponyms is certainly more exhaustive than the first text list of fifteen with which the author invites comparison. But it is often impossible to tell whether the writer meant a word like *kubu*, for instance, to be an inhabited place or just a defence work. Is *ulu sungai* a settlement of people or just the head-

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waters of the river? Is *di-balek rimba* a village or simply 'the place where you happen to come out of the forest'? Marre's task of improving on lists 'incomplètes et défectueuses....du copiste peu soigneux' is supererogative.

The complicated problem of the *Sejarah Melayu* texts lies outside the scope of this work. The differences between the Shellabear and the more authentic Raffles MS 18 have been discussed by Sir Richard Winstedt (*JMBRAS*, Vol 16, (3), 1938, pp. 7-20). For purposes *inter alia* of comparing the spelling of place-names I have examined Raffles manuscript 18 (Chapter 6 in particular) in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. My comments in the notes on names like *Ma'abri* and *Bunguran* are based on the reading in this manuscript. I have quoted from the romanized transcription of this text made by Sir Richard Winstedt (*ibid.*, 1938) and from the English translation of it made by C. C. Brown whenever they are applicable. For the few references needed to the Shellabear version I have used the M.P.H. romanized editions for schools (in two volumes, 1 1915, 2 1930).

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ابن تمت حکایة راجع فاسی سلامت سمن  
 بیع مباح دین و ان کل بیع منع کندی استغوا بیع  
 میور نکندی دفلیم اکن الله سبحانه و تبارک افاله کمران  
 در دنیا دانع کلاخره برکت شفا من نبی محمد

مصطفی صلی الله علیه و سلم

نمته هارید اشین کند هارب

دوفوله را کند بولن

محمد سنز

حج بن النهر

۱۲۳۰

و الله اعلم بالصواب  
 محمد بن النهر

The last page of Raffles MS 67, with the statement that the copy was finished on Monday, the 21st day of Muhar-ram, in the seventh century of the Muslim era, A.H. 1230 (= 2 January, 1814), and below it the two lines of old Javanese script (see Introduction, p. 35).

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## **A revised romanized text of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai**

In amending the romanised text published by J. P. Mead in 1914 I have consulted the Jawi version published by Edouard Dulaurier in 1849, in addition to the original manuscript (MS No. 67) in the Raffles collection at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland. Modern research has thrown much light on the islamisation of South East Asia, and has enabled me to correct many errors which occur in these two earlier transcriptions. Some of them are mere slips in reading. But the more important ones, for instance the misspelling of place-names, were unavoidable at the time they were prepared.

For a discussion of the authorship and date of the original work, the reader is referred to the introduction (pp. 40-41, above). Here I need only state my belief that the liberal use of Arabic words in the original is significant. To illustrate this, in transliterating these words, I have used an orthography which may help to clarify the text for non-Malay students without giving undue offence to Arabic scholars. In applying it to all except very common Arabic words, i.e. in all cases where the author seems to have shown a conscious preference for a 'foreign' word in place of its Malay equivalent, I have made no distinction between the apostrophe, the 'ayn and the hamza.

In conformity with current practice I have omitted the diacritical mark over the short 'e' (formerly shown as 'é'). In transcribing the names of people and places I have used a modern spelling wherever it is known well enough for no confusion to arise, but in the 'Pasai Chronicle', particularly in the second part, there are a large number of proper names belonging to people of no historical importance. They show Tamil, Gujerati, Pali as well as Arabic and Malay influence. Successive copyists have corrupted them to such an extent that in most cases their original form cannot be found. Scholars of Indian languages can suggest alternative forms, none of them at all certain. Any attempt to reconstruct the original words is unrewarding.

Modern commentaries on the text, such as Winstedt's summary (*JMBRAS*, **16**, (2) : 24-30), use the romanised names and titles proposed by Mead, with the corrections for pages 100 and

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106-07 subsequently published by Winstedt (*JSBRAS.* 77, 1917: 181). To avoid confusing readers with unpronounceable names in the form W.s.t. &c., I have retained Mead's spelling, with occasional modifications, in both the revised text and the translation, except where his transliteration is obviously wrong and likely to lead to false linguistic associations. In cases where the reading is very doubtful, or for one reason or another of special interest, I have included a reference to the original manuscript in the notes (pp. 173-208, below).

### Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai

#### Part I

Al-kēsah peri mengatakan cheritera raja yang pertama masok ugama islam ini Pasai; maka ada di-cheritakan olēh orang yang empunya cherita ini. Negeri yang di-bawah angin ini Pasai-lah yang pertama membawa iman akan Allah dan akan rasul Allah. Maka ada raja dua-bersaudara sa-orang nama-nya Raja Ahmad dan sa-orang nama-nya Raja Muhammad. Ada pun yang tua Raja Ahmad. Maka baginda kedua bersaudara itu hendak berbuat negeri di-Semerlanga.

Maka Raja Muhammad itu pergi-lah ia dengan segala rayat-nya menebas rimba itu. Maka ada di-tengah rimba itu sa-rumpun betong terlalu amat tebal-nya betong itu. Maka di-tebas olēh segala rayat itu tiada habis di-tebas-nya, habis-habis tumbuh pula. Maka berangkat Raja sendiri menebas betong itu, maka habis-lah betong itu. Maka di-lihat olēh Raja Muhammad pada sama tengah betong itu ada rebong-nya seperti badan besar-nya; maka hendak di-parang olēh Raja Muhammad rebong itu, maka keluar sa-orang kanak-kanak perempuan terlalu sakali baik paras-nya; maka di-buangkan-nya-lah gedubang-nya, lalu segera di-ambil-nya kanak-kanak itu, maka segera-lah di-dapatkan olēh isteri baginda lalu di-sambut-nya. Maka dudok-lah baginda dua laki isteri itu. Maka di-lihat olēh isteri baginda budak-budak perempuan. Maka terlalu sukachita baginda laki isteri itu. Maka baginda pun berkhabar-lah kapada adinda itu daripada pertama-nya datang kapada kesudahan-nya peri baginda mendapat kanak-kanak di-dalam rebong betong. Maka di-nama'i olēh baginda Puteri Betong. Maka di-peliharakan baginda seperti anak segala raja-raja dengan inang pengasoh-nya serta dengan dayang-dayang-nya lengkap dengan pakaian-nya. Maka terlalu kasēh baginda akan anakanda itu, makin sa-hari, makin besar dan rupa-nya pun makin menjelas.

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Maka terdengar-lah khabar itu kapada kakanda baginda Raja Ahmad akan adinda itu beroléh mendapat kanak-kanak di-dalam rebong betong itu. Maka baginda pun berangkat-lah dua laki isteri pergi melihat kanak-kanak yang di-dapat oléh adinda itu. Sa-telah baginda sampai lalu masok ka-dalam rumah adinda itu. Maka adinda pun memberi hormat akan kakanda itu bepersilakan dudok. Maka baginda pun dudok-lah dua laki isteri dan adinda pun dudok-lah mengadap dua laki isteri. Maka siréh pada jorong emas pun di-persembahkan orang-lah ka-pada kakanda baginda. Sa-telah itu, maka sabda baginda, 'Hai, adinda Raja Muhammad, mana-tah anak tuan itu, kakanda hendak melihat'. Maka kata Raja Muhammad, 'Hai inang pengasoh bawah-lah anak-ku itu kamari.' Maka segera-lah di-bawa-nya ka-hadapan Raja Ahmad, maka baginda melihat terlalu sukachita lagi dengan paras-nya. Maka baginda laki isteri pun bermohon lah kapada adinda laki isteri lalu kembali. Sa-telah sudah negeri itu di-perusaha oléh segala rayat dengan kota parit-nya serta dengan istana balairong-nya. Maka baginda pun dudok-lah dalam negeri itu dengan bersuka-sukaan makan minum menjamu segala menteri dan hulu-balang rayat sakalian.

Al-kēsah maka tersebut-lah perkataan Raja Ahmad selang beberapa lama-nya, maka baginda pun berbuat pula sa-buah negeri di-balék rimba itu, ada kira-kira sa-hari perjalanan daripada negeri adinda itu. Itu pun lengkap juga dengan kota parit-nya serta dengan istana balairong-nya. Maka baginda pun dudok-lah dalam negeri itu bersuka-sukaan dengan segala bala tentera-nya makan minum.

Sa-telah itu, maka beberapa lama-nya baginda pun pergi berburu kadalam rimba belantara, maka sa-ēkur perburuan tiada di-peroléh-nya. Maka baginda pun bertemu dengan sa-buah surau di-tengah rimba belantara itu. Maka ada sa-orang orang tua dalam surau itu. Maka Raja Ahmad memberi salam kapada orang tua itu maka segera di-sahuti-nya salam Raja Ahmad itu. Mak Raja Ahmad pun berchetera kapada orang tua itu akan hal saudara-nya mendapat puteri di-dalam rebong betong itu. Maka ujar orang tua itu. 'Hai, anak-ku jikalau tuan hendak akan anak baik-lah aku tunjokkan dia akan tuan nanti-lah tuan hamba di-sini barang sa-saat.' Maka di-nanti-nya oléh Raja Ahmad itu. Maka pada sa-saat itu juga datang-lah sa-ēkur gajah terlalu besar. Maka ada sa-orang kanak-kanak dudok atas kepala-nya maka di-mandikan-nya ia ka-sungai. Sa-telah sudah di-mandikan-nya, maka dihantarkan-nya pula ka-tebing sungai itu. Maka pergi-lah ia pula memandikan diri-nya. Sa-telah sudah ia mandi, maka di-muatkan-nya akan kanak-kanak itu atas kepala-nya. Maka di-bawa-nya berjalan ka-rimba. Demikian-lah hal-

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nya itu. Maka segala kelakuan gajah itu di-lihat-nya oleh Raja Ahmad itu. Maka ujar orang tua itu. 'Hai bapa orang muda, hendak-lah engkau muslihatkan dengan daya upaya akan kanak-kanak itu, supaya kita peroléh akan dia.' Maka ujar Raja Ahmad 'Hai bapa-ku, jikalau emas atau manikam di-tunjok akan hamba atau ada di-beri akan hamba tiada-lah hamba sukachita behina seperti hamba melihat kanak-kanak ini.' Maka ujar Raja Ahmad 'Hamba hendak bermohon kapada tuanku kembali dahulu ka-negeri hamba; mana jalan keluar?' Maka di-tunjokkan-lah orang tua itu-lah jalan raya.

Maka keluar-lah dari sana Raja Ahmad itu. Tiba-tiba sampai-lah ia ka-negeri. Sa-telah datang-lah ia ka-istana, maka tuan puteri pun berdiri di-pintu istana mengalu-ngalukan Raja Ahmad datang. Maka ujar Raja Ahmad akan Tuan Puteri 'Ayohaip Adinda Tuan Puteri, pergi hamba berburu itu, sa-ëkur perburuan pun tiada hamba peroléh, melihat perburuan pun hamba tiada, melainkan hamba bertemu dengan sa-buah surau di-tengah rimba belantara, mada ada sa-orang orang tua dalam surau itu; maka hamba memberi salam kapada orang tua itu maka di-sahuti-nya salam hamba itu. Maka hamba cheterakan kapada-nya akan hal saudara hamba mendapat puteri dalam rebong betong itu. Maka ujar orang tua itu 'Jikalau tuan hendak akan anak, baik-lah beri hamba tunjok-kan dia akan tuan. Nanti-lah tuan hamba di-sini barang sa-saat.' Maka hamba nanti, maka kapada sa-saat itu juga datang-lah sa-ëkur gajah terlalu amat besar. Maka ada sa-orang kanak-kanak dudok di-atas kepala-nya. Maka di-manikan-nya ia ka-sungai, telah sudah di-mandikan-nya, maka di-hantar-kan-nya ka-tebing sungai itu. Maka pergi-lah pula ia memandikan diri-nya. Sa-telah sudah ia mandi maka di-muatkan-nya pula akan kanak-kanak itu di-atas kepala-nya, maka di-bawa-nya berjalan ka-rimba; demikian-lah penglihat hamba.' Maka ujar tuan puteri 'Ya-tuanku, muslihatkan apa-lah kira-nya akan kanak-kanak itu.' Maka Raja Ahmad pun keluar-lah dari istana-nya menghimpunkan segala lashkar-nya. Apabila sudah berhimpun sakalian-nya datang mengadap Raja Ahmad, maka di-cheterakan-nya peri hal kanak-kanak itu yang di-kepala-nya gajah itu pada segala lashkar-nya hendak berupayakan kanak-kanak itu di-kepala gajah itu.

Maka pada hari yang baik, pergi-lah baginda dengan segala lashkar-nya ka-rimba pada tempat gajah memandikan kanak-kanak itu. Shahadan maka orang tua yang pada surau itu pun ghaib-lah dengan surau-nya. Tiada-lah di-lihat-nya di-sana lagi. Maka hari khamis pula masing-masing mengorek tanah akan tempat bersembunyi akan mengambil kanak-kanak itu. Shahadan maka datang-lah kapada hari jumaat. Maka keluar-lah gajah itu

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dari dalam rimba membawa kanak-kanak itu memandikan-nya ka-sungai pada tempat di-mandikan-nya dahulu itu. Sa-telah datang ia ka-sungai, maka di-mandikan-nya kanak-kanak itu, sa-telah sudah di-mandikan-nya di-tebing sungai, maka gajah itu pun memandikan diri-nya. Maka segera-lah Raja Ahmad meng-ambil kanak-kanak itu. Maka lalu di-bawa-nya dengan segera-nya berjalan. Maka di-lihat oléh gajah itu lalu di-ikut-nya akan Raja Ahmad itu. Maka sakalian lashkar-nya menghalau gajah itu dan sa-tengah melotar dia. Maka berpaling-lah gajah itu. Ada pun gajah itu, bernama Bujang Sakalis lagi gajah itu tunggal tiada dapat lama hidup-nya dalam benua.

Maka Raja Ahmad pun berjalan-lah ke-negeri-nya dengan segala lashkar-nya. Hatta maka sampai-lah ka-istana-nya maka tuan puteri pun berdiri di-pintu istana-nya mengalu-ngalukan Raja Ahmad itu. Maka tuan puteri pun melihat kapada kanak-kanak itu maka sekali segera-lah di-dapatkan-nya, lalu di-sambuti-nya daripada Raja Ahmad itu. Maka terlalu-lah amat baik paras-nya. Maka di-nama'i-nya Merah Gajah. Maka meshhur-lah dalam negeri itu Raja Ahmad beroléh anak dan terdengar-lah pada saudara-nya Raja Muhammad akan Raja Ahmad beroléh kanak-kanak itu. Maka datang-lah saudara-nya Raja Muhammad pergi melihat Merah Gajah itu, maka ia pun amat sukachita melihat kanak-kanak itu terlalu amat baik paras-nya itu. Maka Raja Ahmad pun berchetera-lah kapada saudara-nya Raja Muhammad peri segala kelakuan-nya ia berburu itu dan ia bertemu dengan sa-buah surau itu di-tengah rimba belantara dan bertemu dengan sa-orang orang tua dalam surau itu dan pergi hal ia men-dapat kanak-kanak itu. Maka Raja Muhammad pun bermohon menyembah kakanda dua laki isteri lalu ia kembali ka-negeri-nya. Maka beberapa lama antara-nya maka besar-lah kanak-kanak itu kedua-nya. Maka di-dudökkan-nya-lah Merah Gajah itu dengan Puteri Betong. Maka berbēsan-lah ia kedua bersaudara sentiasa ia dalam kesuka'an-nya.

Al-kēsah peri mengatakan hikayat Puteri Betong dengan Merah Gajah di-cheterakan oléh orang yang empunya chetera. Hatta maka beberapa lama-nya dudok Merah Gajah dengan Puteri Betong dua laki isteri itu, Shahadan maka dengan *taqdir Allah taala* maka Puteri Betong pun hamil-lah, maka telah genap-lah bulan-nya, maka Puteri Betong pun beranak laki-laki. Maka di-nama'i-nya anak-nya itu Merah Silu. Maka kemudian dari-pada itu, hatta beberapa lama-nya, maka Puteri Betong pun hamil pula. Telah genap bulan-nya, maka ia pun beranak-lah. Maka anak-nya itu pun laki-laki juga. Maka di-nama'i-nya Merah Hasum.

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Hatta maka Puteri Betong bahagia-nya sa-helai rambut-nya di-tengah kepala-nya seperti warna emas rupa-nya, tiada kelihatan hingga ia berminyak maka kelihatan rambut-nya itu. Pada satu hari Puteri itu berminyak maka terlihat oleh Merah Gajah rambut Puteri itu. Maka ujar Merah Gajah kepada tuan puteri itu. 'Wah adinda, mari hamba bantunkan rambut tuan puteri sa'helai itu.' Maka ujar tuan puteri 'Jika rambut hamba sa-helai itu di-bantun oleh tuan hamba alamat percheraian tuan hamba dengan hamba.' Maka beberapa kali di-minta-nya oleh Merah Gajah itu, tiada juga di-beri-nya oleh tuan puteri itu. Maka suatu hari tuan puteri itu pun tidur. Maka di-bantun-nya oleh Merah Gajah rambut isteri-nya itu, pada bichara-nya itu tiada akan mengapa tuan puteri itu. Maka keluar-lah darah dari liang rambut sa-helai yang di-tengah kepala Puteri Betong itu. Maka berhenti-lah darah-nya itu, maka tuan puteri pun hilang-lah. Maka segala hamba sahaya-nya pun segera-lah berlari memberi tahu kepada ayahanda Raja Muhammad. Maka ujar-nya 'Ya tuanku, paduka anakanda tuan kami puteri Betong telah hilang-lah sebab di-bantun-nya oleh Merah Gajah sa-helai rambut-nya di-tengah kepala-nya.' Sa-telah Raja Muhammad menengar khabar inang-nya itu menghempaskan diri-nya dan membelah-belah baju-nya dan mencharek-charek kain-nya. Maka ia pun terlalu marah, maka ia pun menghimpunkan segala lashkar-nya, maka di-datangi-nya Merah Gajah itu lalu di-bunoh-nya.

Telah mati-lah Merah Gajah itu, maka bersegera-lah orang membawa khabar kepada ayahanda Raja Ahmad, demikian kata-nya, 'Wah, tuanku paduka anakanda Merah Gajah itu telah mati-lah di-bunoh oleh mentua-nya sebab karna ia membantunkan rambut sa-helai yang di-tengah kepala Puteri Betong itu. Maka pikir anakanda Merah Gajah itu tiada akan mati.' Telah sudah menengar ayah bonda-nya akan sembah orang itu, maka ia pun menghempaskan diri-nya dan membelah-belah baju-nya dan mencharek-charek kain-nya. Maka Raja Ahmad pun terlalu sangat marah-nya serta ia menghimpunkan segala lashkar-nya lengkap dengan segala senjata-nya. Maka tatkala sudah berhimpun segala lashkar-nya. Maka pada ketika yang baik, maka berangkat-lah Raja Ahmad itu pergi mendatangi saudara-nya Raja Muhammad. Maka apabila berhadapan-lah kedua pihak lashkar itu, maka perang-lah mereka itu terlalu ramai kelam kabut. Maka duli pun berbangkit lalu ka-udara tiada-lah berkenalan lagi sa-orang dengan sa-orang jua pun. Maka tempék segala hulubalang dan segala rayat juga yang kedengaran dan gemerengchang bunyi segala senjata dan pendahan segala pahlawan juga kedengaran. Maka bahana-nya datang ka-tepi rimba belantara. Maka dari-pada kedua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka sebab ber-

amok-amokan sama sendiri-nya dan berbunuh-bunuhan mereka itu hingga mati-lah kedua raja itu.

Maka tinggal-lah Merah Silu dengan Merah Hasum kedua bersaudara itu dan segala orang yang hidup daripada perang itu berhimpun-lah ia menyembah anak raja kedua itu bersama-sama dalam negeri itu. Maka beberapa lama antara-nya, maka kata Merah Silu kepada saudara-nya Merah Hasum itu, 'Hai saudara-ku betapa bichara kita karna kita ini hanya dua bersaudara juga tinggal karna ninek dan ibu bapa kita telah hilang dalam negeri Semerlanga ini jikalau kita diam dalam negeri ini sakali-kali tiada memberi manfaat akan kita, baik-lah kita pindah dari negeri ini menchari tempat yang baik yang lain supaya kita diam di-sana.' Sa-telah sudah ia berbichara dua bersaudara demikian itu, maka pada ketika yang baik, maka keluar-lah ia dari dalam negeri itu mengikut jalan ka-mata-hari mati; daripada suatu perhentian datang kapada suatu perhentian. Maka dengan *taqdir Allah taala* maka sampai-lah ia kapada suatu negeri yang bernama Beruana. Maka dudok-lah ia di-sana, sa-orang sa-belah sungai dalam negeri itu kedua bersaudara.

Alkēsah peri mengatakan chetera Merah Silu dan Merah Hasum di-cheterakan olēh orang yang empunya chetera, tatkala ia diam di-dalam negeri Beruana itu; hatta beberapa lama-nya pada suatu hari Merah Silu itu pergi bermain ka-sungai. Maka di-lihat-nya ikan terlalu banyak di-dalam sungai itu. Maka tatkala pulang ia ka-rumah-nya, maka di-suroh-nya orang-nya berbuat bubu. Telah sudah bubu itu di-perbuat orang. Maka pergi-lah Merah Silu itu ka-hulu sungai itu menahan bubu-nya itu. Maka pada keēsokan hari-nya Merah silu itu pergi melihat bubu-nya. Maka di-lihat-nya penoh dalam bubu itu gelang-gelang, maka di-buang-nya gelang-gelang dalam bubu-nya itu. Maka di-tahan-nya pula. Pada ēsok hari-nya ia pergi pula, demikian juga penoh dengan gelang-gelang. Maka di-buangkan-nya juga. Maka di-tahan-nya pula bubu itu. Maka ēsok hari-nya pergi pula ia melihat penoh juga dengan gelang-gelang. Maka Merah Silu pun pikir dalam hati-nya 'Bahwa gelang-gelang ini kurnia *taqdir Allah taala* akan aku rupa-nya.' Maka gelang-gelang itu pun di-bawa-nya pulang ka-rumah-nya lalu di-buboh-nya dalam kawah, maka di-suroh-nya rebus semua-nya gelang-gelang itu. Maka dengan *taqdir Allah taala* gelang-gelang itu pun menjadi emas dan buēh-nya menjadi pērak.

Maka menjadi kaya-lah Merah Silu itu. Maka di-cheterakan orang-lah kapada saudara-nya Merah Hasum peri hal di-kurnia'i *taqdir Allah taala* akan Merah Silu itu, demikian kata-nya, 'Bahwa kakanda Merah Silu kami lihat di-bawa-nya gelang-gelang ka-

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rumah-nya masok dalam bubu-nya, maka pada hati kami di-makan-nya juga gelang-gelang itu.' Sa-telah sudah ia mendengar khabar saudara-nya itu, maka Merah Hasum pun diam-lah.

Maka kata Merah Silu pada segala lashkar-nya 'mari-lah kita muslihatkan kerbau jalang yang tiada berguna kapada tuan-tuan sakalian itu hamba hendak perkenakan dia.' Maka di-upah-nya olèh Merah Silu akan merèka itu dengan emas dan pèrak. Maka di-suroh-nya perbuat اندرق yaani kelaburan sakadar lulus kerbau dua tiga ratus. Sa-telah sudah anderak itu, maka di-suroh-nya gemparkan pada segala lashkar-nya kerbau jalang itu yang di-sisi liang itu. Maka kerbau itu pun terkejut lalu masok ka-dalam liang itu, maka tersungkur-lah tandok-nya pada pintu liang itu tiada-lah dapat masok dan keluar. Maka di-suroh-nya sebukan pintu liang itu dengan tanah sa-orang sa-gumpal. Hatta maka tersebu-lah pintu itu, maka lalu mati-lah kerbau kampong itu, maka di-suroh Merah Silu buka kerbau banyak itu kadalam اندرق itu lalu ia jinak. Maka di-suroh olèh Merah Silu chuchok hidong-nya kerbau itu.

Maka kedengaran-lah warta-nya kapada saudara-nya Merah Hasum akan Merah Silu karna bermain akan binatang yang tiada berguna kapada orang yang banyak itu. Maka di-nama'-i-nya tempat itu dengan nama Kerbau Kampong. Maka Merah Hasum pun marah akan saudara-nya Merah Silu itu. Maka di-panggil-nya sahaya-nya sa-orang 'Pergi engkau katakan, kata-ku ini kapada saudara-ku Merah Silu kenapa guna-nya bermain binatang yang tiada berguna ka-pada orang yang banyak itu. Maka ia memberi aku malu juga tiada di-dengar-nya kata-ku ini nyah-lah ia dari negeri ini, jangan-lah ia dudok bersama-sama aku.' Sa-telah Merah Silu mendengar kata saudara-nya demikian itu, maka ia pun pikir dalam hati-nya, 'Baik-lah jikalau Merah Hasum berkata demikian kapada-ku, aku pun hendak menchari tempat diam.'

Maka datang-lah kapada hari yang baik maka Merah Silu pun berjalan-lah di-bawa-nya segala harta-nya dan segala kerbau-nya dan orang membawa senawat-nya sa-kira-kira tujuh orang yang membawa senawat-nya itu. Maka pada tempat Merah Silu berjalan itu, maka putus bukit sa-buah bekas kerbau-nya berjalan itu. Hatta maka beberapa lama-nya ia berjalan Merah Silu itu sampai-lah ka-hulu Sungai Pasangan, maka datang-lah ia ka-sempang di-hulu Karang. Maka Merah Silu itu pun diam-lah pada negeri itu. Maka beberapa lama-nya ia dudok dalam negeri itu maka kerbau itu pun habis memakan padi orang dan menerkap pisang orang sakalian. Maka segala orang dalam negeri

itu dengarlah akan Merah Silu itu. Maka kata segala orang dalam negeri itu 'Binatang apa di-bawa ka-negeri ini; habis-lah tanam-tanaman kami binasa di-makan-nya oleh binatang ini, jikalau demikian jangan-lah tuan tuan dudok bersama-sama dengan kami,' Sa-telah Merah Silu mendengar kata mereka itu sakalian, maka kata Merah Silu 'Hai segala tuan-tuan dalam negeri ini, sabar lah tuan-tuan dahulu sementara hamba menchari tempat dudok.'

Kemudian maka Merah Silu pergi-lah menchari tempat dudok, lalu ia berjalan mudek ka-hulu Semenda. Maka sampai-lah kapada suatu negeri bernama Buloh Telang. Maka di-sana-lah ia bertemu dengan Megat Iskandar, maka di-singgahkan-nya oleh Megat Iskandar Merah Silu itu di-perjamu-nya makan minum. Sa-telah sudah di-perjamu-nya, maka ujar Megat Iskandar kapada Merah Silu 'Apa kehendak tuan hamba kapada hamba ini.' Maka ujar Merah Silu, 'Ada pun hamba datang kapada tuan hamba ini, hamba hendak minta tempat dudok, karna hamba tiada bertempat.' Maka kata Megat Iskandar 'Jikalau demikian baik-lah anakanda dudok di-sini serta dengan hamba jikalau perhumaan pun luas, dan jikalau kerbau pun baik, banyak tempat-nya makan.' Maka ujar Merah Silu 'Jikalau ada kasēh tuan apa-tah salah-nya, tuan-lah akan bapa hamba.' Maka Merah Silu pun bermohon-lah kapada Megat Iskandar, lalu ia pergi-lah mengambil segala harta-nya dan segala lashkar-nya dan segala kerbau-nya; maka di-bawa-nya-lah sakalian ka-Buloh Telang itu. Maka di-sana Merah Silu itu diam.

Hatta kalakian maka beberapa lama-nya Merah Silu itu dudok di-sana, sa-hari-hari kerja-nya bermain-main ayam menyabong. Maka datang-lah segala juara bermain ayam menyabong kapada Merah Silu itu dan jikalau Merah Silu itu alah, di-bayar-nya taroh-nya dan jikalau orang itu alah tiada di-minta-nya taroh-nya orang itu. Maka terdengar-lah kapada segala orang besar-besar dan segala orang tua-tua yang dalam negeri itu. Maka segala mereka itu pun datang-lah bermain-main menyabong kapada Merah Silu itu. Maka apabila mereka itu kembali, maka di-beri-nya mereka itu sa-orang sa-ēkur kerbau, maka sukachitalah segala orang yang datang itu yang bermain dengan Merah Silu itu. Sa-bermula segala yang datang melihat dia sakalian-nya di-beri-nya kerbau sa-ēkur sa-orang, demikian-lah hal-nya Merah Silu itu.

Sa-bermula Megat Iskandar dan Megat Kedah itu kedua-nay kakanda kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar di-Rimba جران (? Jeran) dan segala rayat pun kasēh-lah ia akan Merah Silu itu.

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Shahadan maka di-suroh oléh Megat Iskandar pada segala rayat membawa beras sa-orang sa-kampit dan sa-orang sa-ēkur akan membawa pekerjaan itu. Maka datang kapada suatu hari muafakat-lah Megat Iskandar dengan segala orang besar-besar dan segala orang tua-tua dan segala rayat dalam negeri itu. Maka ujar Megat Iskandar, 'Hai, segala tuan-tuan, apa bichara kita akan Merah Silu ini; maka pada bichara hamba baik-lah kita rajakan karna ia pun sedia raja, lagi ia hartawan; dapat kita bersuka kapada-nya.' Maka pada antara merēka itu sakalian ada sa-orang bernama Tun Aria Benong tiada mahu ia merajakan Merah Silu itu. Maka ujar Megat Kedah 'Jakalau ia kita rajakan, neschaya anak chuchu kita di-perintah-nya.' Maka muafakat-lah Megat Iskandar dengan segala orang yang banyak serta dengan dia hendak merajakan Merah Silu itu.

Sa-telah sudah ia jadi raja, maka di-datangi-nya-lah Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar ka-Rimba جران. Maka في غالبه ia dengan Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar. Hatta maka غالبه perang Merah Silu, maka pechah-lah perang Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar. Maka surut-lah ia pada suatu negeri Benua nama-nya; di-sana-lah ia bertahan dengan berbuat istana. Maka beberapa lama nya ia dudok dalam negeri itu, maka pada suatu hari, maka di-datangi-nya pula oléh Merah Silu akan Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar dengan di-perangi-nya, itu pun surut juga ia ka-rimba-raya. Maka di-namai Merah Silu rimba itu Pertama Terjun di-sebut orang datang sekarang. Ada pun akan Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar sampai-lah ia kapada suatu negeri; maka ia dudok dalam negeri itu berbuat istana. Hatta maka berapa lama-nya dudok dalam negeri itu, maka di-wartakan orang kapada Merah Silu akan Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar berhenti kapada suatu tempat dengan segala hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat nya sakalian-nya. Maka kemudian di-datangi-nya pula oléh Merah Silu akan Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar itu.

Maka perang-lah ia terlalu ramai; maka banyak-lah orang yang mati dan luka. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar itu pun pechah-lah perang-nya lalu ia berlepas diri-nya ka-belakang Gunong Telawas; maka di-kubu-kubu-nya oléh Merah Silu akan Sultan itu. Lepas juga ia daripada kubu-nya itu. Maka di-namai oléh Merah Silu tempat itu Kubu, di-sebut orang sekarang. Maka Sultan itu pun berlepas diri-nya kapada suatu negeri. Maka sampai-lah kapada suatu jorang yang pichek lagi dalam, maka terkersang sa-orang hulubalang-nya Sultan itu. Maka di-namai jorang dan negeri itu Pekersang. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar pun lalu dari sana sampai-ka-Kumat.

Maka berapa lama-nya ia dudok di-Kumat itu dengan segala hulubalang-nya serta segala rayat-nya, maka muafakat-lah saka-

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lian merēka itu berbuat kota. Sa-telah sudah ia berbuat kota, maka terdengar-lah kapada Megat Iskandar. Maka di-datangi nya olēh Megat Iskandar itu ka-Kumat akan Sultan itu pun perang-lah, maka berapa lama-nya perang sakalian merēka itu, maka banyak-lah segala hulubalang itu mati: maka Sultan pun pechah-lah perang-nya segala rayat lashkar-nya pun cherai-berai-lah tiada berketahuan pergi-nya. Maka dalam antara itu ada sa-orang hulubalang-nya bernama Tun Aria Benong lalu ia membawa diri-nya ka-negeri Barus. Maka apakala datang ia ka-Barus, maka di-ambil olēh Raja Barus Tun Aria Benong itu akan menangkap-nya. Maka dari karna sebab itu-lah Raja Barus itu. Jikalau tua sakali pun berkirin sembah juga ia kapada Raja Pasai dan jikalau muda sakali pun Raja Pasai berkirin salam juga ia kapada Raja Barus. Hatta maka Merah Silu itu pun di-rajukan olēh Megat Iskandar di-Rimba جران itu.

Maka di-cheterakan olēh orang yang empunya chetera. Sa-kali persetua pada zaman Nabi Muhammad rasulu 'llahi salla 'llahu 'alaihi wa'sallam hayat hadzrat yang maha mulia itu, maka bersabda ia kapada sahabat baginda di-Makah, demikian sabda baginda, 'Bahwa ada sa-peningal-ku wafat itu, ada sa-buah negeri di-bawah angin, Semudera nama-nya, apabila ada di-dengar khabar negeri itu, maka bawa'i orang suroh sa-buah kapal membawa perkakas alat kerajaan dan kamu bawa'i orang dalam negeri itu masok ugama Islam serta menguchap *du'a kalimat al-shahada*. Shahadan lagi akan di-jadikan *Allahu subhanahu wa ta'ala* dalam negeri itu terbanyak daripada segala wali Allah jadi dalam negeri itu. Ada pun pertama ada sa-orang faquir di-negeri Ma'abri nama-nya ia-itu-lah kamu bawa serta kamu ka-negeri Semudera itu.'

Maka tersebut-lah perkataan Merah Silu di-Rimba جران itu, Sa-kali persetua pada suatu hari Merah Silu pergi berburu. Maka ada sa-ēkur anjing di-bawa-nya akan perburuan Merah Silu itu bernama Si-Pasai. Maka di-lepaskan-nya anjing itu, lalu ia menyalak di-atas tanah tinggi itu. Maka di-lihat-nya ada sa-ēkur semut besar-nya seperti kucing. Maka di-tangkap-nya olēh Merah Silu semut itu, maka lalu di-makan-nya. Maka tanah tinggi itu pun di-suroh Merah Silu tebas pada segala orang yang serta-nya itu. Maka sa-telah itu di-perbuat-nya akan istana nya, sa-telah maka Merah Silu pun dudok-lah ia di-sana, dengan segala hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat-nya diam ia di-sana. Maka dinamai olēh Merah Silu negeri itu Semudera herti-nya semut yang amat besar; di-sana-lah ia diam raja itu.

Hatta berapa lama-nya kemudian daripada *hadzrat nabi salla 'llahu 'alai wa' sallam* wafat, maka terdengar-lah khabar kapada

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*sharif* yang di-Makah ada suatu negeri di-bawah angin bernama Semudera, maka olèh *khalifah sharif*, maka ia menyuroh sa-buah kapal akan membawa segala perkakas alat kerajaan ka-negeri Semudera. Sa-telah sudah kapal itu lengkap, maka di-suroh *sharif* Shaikh Ismail itu singgah ka-negeri Ma'abri. Sa-telah maka berapa lama-nya berlayar, maka sampai-lah ia ka-negeri Ma'abri itu, maka berlaboh-lah ia di-telok Ma'abri. Ada pun Raja dalam negeri itu Sultan Muhammad nama-nya. Maka terlihat-lah olèh orang Ma'abri sa-buah kapal berlaboh di-telok itu. Maka segera ia masuk mengadap raja serta ia berdatang sembah demikian sembah-nya, 'Daulat dirgahaya, shah alam; ada sa-buah kapal berlaboh di-telok kita ini.' Maka Sultan Muhammad pun bersabda kepada perdana menteri, demikian sabda baginda, 'Hai perdana menteri suroh lihat kapal itu.' Maka perdana menteri pun segera keluar menyurohkan orang sabuah perahu melihat kapal itu. Sa-telah sudah sampai-lah perahu itu ka-kapal, maka ia pun lalu bertanya. Makt ujar-nya, 'Darimana kapal ini datang dan siapa nama nakhoda-nya dan kamana ia hendak pergi?' Maka sahut orang kapal itu, 'Ada pun kapal ini dari Makah dan nama nakhoda-nya Shaikh Ismail di-surohkan olèh *khalifa sharif* di-Makah ka-negeri yang bernama Semudera.' Sa-telah sudah ia mendengar khabar orang dalam kapal itu maka ia pun kembali-lah ka-darat, maka ia pun pergi kepada perdana menteri. Maka di-katakan-nya seperti kata orang dalam kapal itu. Maka perdana menteri pun masok-lah mengadap raja serta berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun kapal itu dari Makah, nama nakhoda-nya Shaikh Ismail, hendak pergi ka-negeri Semudera.'

Ada pun Sultan Muhammad itu daripada anak chuchu Abu Kakar *al-siddiq hayyahu 'llah*. Maka Sultan menyuroh hantarkan segala makan-makanan dan segala *nēemat* akan Shaikh Ismail. Sa-telah sudah sampai-lah segala makan-makanan itu, maka Sultan pun merajakan sa-orang anak-nya yang tua di-negeri Ma'abri itu akan ganti-nya kerajaan. Maka baginda dua beranak dengan anak-nya muda itu memakai pakaian *faqir* meninggalkan kerajaan-nya, turun dari istana-nya lalu naik ka-kapal itu. Maka kata-nya kepada orang dalam kapal itu, 'Kamu bawa hamba ka-negeri Semudera itu.' Maka pada hati orang yang dalam kapal itu, 'Bahwa ini-lah *faqir* yang seperti sabda rasulu 'llahi *salla llahu alaihi wa'-sallam* itu.' Maka *faqir* itu pun di-bawa-nya-lah naik ka-kapal itu lalu belayar.

Hatta maka berapa lama-nya di-laut. Sa-bermula bermimpi-lah Merah Silu di-lihat-nya dalam mimpi-nya itu ada sa-orang orang menampong dagu-nya dengan segala jari-nya dan mata-nya pun di tutop-nya dengan empat jari-nya, demikian kata-nya, 'Hai

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Merah Silu, uchap olèh-mu *du'a kalimat al-shahada*.' Maka sahut Merah Silu, 'Tiada hamba tahu menguchap akan dia.' Maka ujar-nya 'Bukakan mulut-mu.' Maka di-bukakan-nya olèh Merah Silu. Maka di-ludahi-nya mulut Merah Silu, rasa-nya lemak manis. Maka ujar-nya akan Merah Silu, 'Hai Merah Silu, engkau-lah Sultan Malik al-Salleh nama-mu sekarang islam-lah engkau dengan menguchap *du'a kalimat al-shahada* itu dan segala bintang yang hidup lagi halal engkau sembelèh 'kau makan dan yang tiada di-sembelèh jangan engkau makan. Sa-bermula dalam empat puluh hari lagi ada sa-buah kapal datang dari Makah, barang segala kata-nya dan barang segala perbuatan-nya yang berpatutan dengan segala pekerjaan ugama islam orang, yang dalam kapal itu jangan-lah engkau-lalui, dan hendak-lah engkau turut barang pengajar-nya.'

Maka ujar Merah Silu, 'Siapa-kah tuan hamba ini.' Maka sahut suara dalam mimpi itu 'Aku-lah nabi Muhammad rasulu 'llahi salla 'llahu 'alaihi wa-sallam yang di-Makah itu.' Maka di-tanggal-kan-nya tangan-nya daripada dagu-nya itu. Maka sabda rasulu 'llahi salla 'llahu 'alaihi wa-sallam akan Merah Silu itu, 'Tundok-lah engkau ka-bawah.' Maka tundok-lah Merah Silu Ka-bawah, serta jaga ia daripada tidur-nya, maka di-lihat-nya yang di-bawah suchi-lah. Maka kata-nya, 'ashadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wahdahu la sharika lahu, wa ashadu anna Muhamadar 'abduhu wa rasuluhu.' Maka sa-telah sudah ia menguchap *du'a kalimat* itu, maka ia membacha *qur'an* tiga-puluh juz khatam dengan lafath-nya ia tiada dengan di-pelajari-nya lagi pada sa-orang jua pun. Maka ujar orang banyak dan segala hulubalang akan Merah Silu itu, 'Ada pun raja kita ini keluar kata-nya itu tiada kita tahu akan berang kata-nya itu.'

Ada pun di-cheterakan olèh orang yang empunya chetera. Hatta berapa lama-nya maka kapal Shaikh Ismail itu pun sampai-lah ka-Telok Teria, maka kapal itu pun bertemu dengan sa-orang orang menjala ikan ini Semudera. Maka kata *faqir* itu 'Apa nama negeri-ini?' Maka sahut orang itu 'Ada pun nama negeri ini Semudera.' Maka kata *faqir* itu 'Siapa nama penghulu-nya?' Maka sahut-nya orang itu, 'Nama Raja dalam negeri ini Merah Silu dan bergelar Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh.' Sa-telah sudah ia ber-kata-kata, maka orang menjala itu pun kembali-lah ia, maka *faqir* itu pun naik-lah ia ka-kapal-nya.

Shahadan maka pada keèsok-kan hari-nya, maka Shaikh Ismail pun turun-lah ia ka-darat pergi ka-negeri kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. Serta ia datang kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh, maka ujar Shaikh Ismail, 'Hai, Sultan, uchap-lah olèh tuan hamba *du'a kalimat al-shahada*.' Maka Sultan, pun menguchap *ashadu an*

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*la illa llah wahdahu la sherika lahu wa ashadu anna Muhammadar 'abduhu wa rasuluhu.'* Sa-telah sudah, maka Shaikh Ismail pun menyapu janggut-nya, maka pada keesok-kan hari-nya datang-lah *faqir* itu membawa *qur'an* tiga-puloh juz itu kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh, maka di-unjokkan-nya oleh *faqir* itu *qur'an* kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh; maka di-sambuti-nya dengan taadzim lalu di-Junjongi-nya serta di-buka-nya lalu di-bacha-nya, tiada-lah ia minta ajari lagi, tahu-lah ia membacha ia sendiri-nya *maka faqir* dan Shaikh Ismail pun kedua-nya menguchap, '*al-hamdu lillahi rabbi'l-'alamin.*'

Sa-telah sudah, maka di-suroh oleh Shaikh Ismail menghimpunkan segala hulubalang dan segala rayat besar kecil dan tua muda laki-laki dan perempuan. Maka apabila sudah berhimpun-lah sakalian-nya, maka di-ajari oleh Shaikh Ismail menguchap *al-shahada* akan mereka itu sakalian-nya. Maka segala mereka itu pun rela-lah menguchap *du'a kalimat al-shahada* dengan tulus ikhlas yakin hati-nya. Sebab itu-lah maka di-namai Daru'l-islam, karena tiada sakalian-nya orang itu dengan di-gagahi dan tiada *mashaqqakan*-nya dan tiada dengan di-perlelahkan-nya pada mengerjakan kerja masuk agama Islam. Maka Shaikh pun menyuroh ka-Semudera daru'l islam. Sa-telah datang segala perkakas alat kerajaan, maka pada ketika yang baik, maka berhimpun-lah segala hulubalang dan segala rayat menghadap. Maka Sultan pun me-makai sa-lengkap pakaian kerajaan anugerah dari Makah, karna akan di-tabalkan. Maka segala hulubalang pun sakalian-nya bersaf-saf duduk menghadap nobat Ibrahim Khalil; bentara pun berdiri menjabat salih, dan segala pegawai pun masing-masing membawa jabatan-nya. Maka genderang tabal itu pun di-palu orang dan segala bunyi-bunyian pun berbunyi-lah. Maka bedil nobat itu pun di-pasang orang-lah dan segala hulubalang dan segala rayat sakalian menjunjong duli menyembah mengatakan, '*Daulat dirgahayu shah alam zillu 'llahi fi 'l-'alam.*' Sa-telah Sultan sudah tabal, maka segala hulubalang pun masing-masing duduk-lah dengan mertabat-nya menghadap baginda itu. Ada-pun orang besar-besar dalam negeri itu dua orang, sa-orang bernama Tun Seri Kaya dan sa-orang bernama Tun Baba Kaya, dan Tun Seri Kaya itu di-gelar Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din dan Baba kaya itu di-namai Sayid Asmayu'd-din.

Sa-telah berapa lama-nya Shaikh Ismail di-Semudera daru'l-islam, maka ia pun berdatang sembah kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh mohon kembali, maka Sultan pun menghimpunkan hadiah akan Khalifah Sharif seperti ambar dan kapur barus dan gaharu chendana dan kemenyan dan kelembak dan chingkeh pala sakalian-nya itu ada kira-kira sa-ratus bahara, maka sakalian-nya itu di-persembahkan kapada Shaikh Ismail. Maka sabda Sultan, 'Ya

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Shaikh, ini-lah hadiah yang di-perhainbakan *khalifa sharif* Makah yang di-permohonkan *beruka du'a* dahulu Allah dan *beraka shafa at al-nabi Muhammad rasul Allah* dan *beraka khalifa sharif.*' Sa-telah sudah, maka Shaikh Ismail pun naik-lah ia ka-kapal lalu berlayar-lah. Maka *faqir* itu pun tinggal-lah di-Semudera akan menetapkan ugama Islam dalam negeri Semudera.

Ada pun di-cheterakan oléh orang yang empunya chetera. Ada suatu kaum orang dalam negeri itu tiada ia mahu masok ugama Islam. Maka ia lari ka-ulu Sungai Pasangan, maka karna itu-lah di-namai orang dalam negeri itu Gayu hingga datang sekarang ini.

Ada pun akan Sultan, belum lagi ia beristeri. Sa-kali per-setua pada suatu hari, maka berdatang sembah segala menteri dan segala hulubalang demikian sembah-nya, 'Daulat dirgahayu shah alam, sembah paték yang di-perhamba ka-bawah duli shah alam, baik kira-nya tuanku kahwin supaya jangan putus mualat keajaian shali alam supaya turun-temurun datang kapada anak chuchu shah alam juga.' Demi Sultan menengar sembah segala menteri-dan segala hulubalang itu, maka memberi titah Sultan itu, 'Jika-lau demikian sembah kamu kapada aku, di-perkenankan-lah. Maka chari-lah orang siapa yang berkenan baik pada hati tuantuan sakalian.' Maka berdatang sembah pula merêka itu sakalian, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, ada kami di-perhamba menengar warta sa-orang raja di-negeri Perlak itu ada bagi-nya anak tiga orang perempuan terlalu amat baik paras-nya; baik-lah tuan-ku menyuroh ka-sana; ia pun raja besar lagi gagah.'

Maka Sultan memberi titah ka-pada sa-orang menteri-nya, di-suroh-kan-nya bertemu kapada raja itu serta dengan segala perempuan yang tua-tua lagi tahu berkata-kata akan segala pekerjaan telangkai itu. Sa-telah sudah lengkap-lah, maka pada ketika yang baik, maka segala menteri itu pun naik-lah ia ke-kapal, lalu-lah ia berlayar menuju negeri Perlak itu. Maka berapa lama-nya antara-nya, maka sampai-lah menteri itu ka-Perlak. Maka berlaboh-lah ia di-telok Perlak itu. Maka di-persembahkan orang-lah kapada raja Perlak, sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, ada sa-buah kapal berlaboh di-telok kita ini.' Maka titah Raja Perlak, 'Pergi-lah engkau lihat kapal itu.' Maka pergi-lah orang yang melihat itu sa-buah perahu, maka apabila sampai-lah ia ka-kapal itu, maka bertanya-lah ia, 'Dari mana datang kapal ini dan pekerjaan (apa) datang tuan hamba kamari?' Maka sahut orang kapal itu 'Kami ini dari negeri Semudera daru'l-islam membawa warta yang baik dan kami datang ini hendak menjunjung duli Sultan Perlak.' Maka orang yang melihat itu pun segera-lah ia kembali bepersembahkan segala kata menteri itu kapada Sultan Perlak.

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Maka titah Sultan Perlak, 'Pergi-lah kamu sambut menteri itu.' Sa-telah pergi-lah ia memanggil menteri itu, maka menteri itu pun turun-lah dengan segala pegawai-nya mengadap Sultan Perlak; serta, datang lalu ia menyembah sakalian-nya. Maka sabda Raja, 'Hai menteri itu.' 'Ya tuanku shah alam, akan hal patêk ini di-titahkan paduka anakanda Sultan Semudera Maliku'l-Saleh raja di-negeri Semudera daru'l-islam hendak menjunjung duli shah alam.' Maka di-persembahkan-nya-lah segala kelengkapan dan segala perhaisan yang di-bawa-nya itu dan berpersembahkan segala kata yang baik-baik lagi sempurna daripada yang memberi nasihat pada membersekan muka segala manusia dan menerangkan segala hati yang karatan akan pekerjaan meminang tuan puteri itu.

Demi di-dengar Raja Perlak segala sembah menteri itu, maka baginda pun sukachita-lah dan segala hulubalang pun terlalu sukachita. Maka orang pun mengangkat sireh pada jorong suasa dan jorong perak pada segala menteri itu masing-masing pada mertabat-nya. Maka Sultan pun memberi titah, demikian bunyinya, 'Hai segala menteri Semudera sa-harus-nya-lah kita perkenankan kehendak anak kita Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh itu, karna ia pun daripada bangsa kita juga.'

Maka pada keesokkan hari-nya, maka di-suroh baginda perhias istana-nya dan anakanda tuan puteri dua orang itu dengan pakaian yang keemasan bertatahkan ratna mutu manikam, dan sa-orang lagi anak gundêk baginda bernama tuan puteri Ganggang itu diri-nya memakai kain sutera chengkurai dan berbaju warna bunga jambu dan memakai chinchin bepermata dan bersubang berjentera. Maka dudok-lah ia pada tempat yang tinggi mengadap orang membuat akan segala makanan perjamuan-nya akan segala menteri dan segala perempuan yang datang dari negeri Semudera yang telangkai itu. Maka tatkala di-lihat olêh orang banyak akan tuan puteri yang tiga bersaudara itu, maka segala manusia pun lekat-lah hati-nya kapada tuan puteri Ganggang itu, olêh karna baik paras-nya dan amat manis barang laku-nya pada segala manusia. Maka kata mereka itu bertanya 'Siapa dudok di atas tinggi itu.' Maka sahut orang itu, 'Ini pun anak Raja kami joga, tetapi ia-itu anak gundêk.' Sa-telah sudah di-perjamu-nya sakalian merêka itu, maka sakalian-nya pun bermohon-lah kembali sakalian merêka itu ka-Semudera kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh.

Maka apa-bila sampai-lah ka-Semudera di-persembahkan orang kapada baginda, demikian bunyi-nya, 'Ya tuan-ku shah alam sunggo-nya ada anak Raja Perlak itu tiga bersaudara, ada yang sa-orang itu anak gundêk baginda tetapi pada patek sakalian penglihat patêk yang di-perhamba yang terbaik rupa-nya itu anak

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gundek baginda itu juga yang amat manis segala kelakuan-nya lagi dengan *muhtashim*-nya hahadan kedudokkan-nya pun tertinggi rupa-nya mertabat-nya daripada saudara-nya yang kedua itu.' Maka sa-telah sudah habis di-persembahkan oleh orang yang melihat itu, maka di-suroh Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh panggil ahlu'u-nujum. Maka datang-lah segala ahlu'u-nujam itu. Maka titah Sultan, 'Hai ahlu'n-nujum lihat apa-lah oleh tuan-tuan sakalian dalam nujum kamu akan anak Raja Perlak itu, yang mana baik kita ambil.' Maka segala ahlu'n-nujum pun melihat nujum-nya dan membilang-bilang ramal-nya lalu ia menggerakkan kepala-nya lalu ia berdatang sembah segala ahlu'n-nujum itu, maka sembah-nya 'Ya tuan-ku shah alam, jikalau tuan puteri yang dudok tinggi pada mertabat-nya itu ambil shah alam, neschaya datang kapada anak chuchu shah alam kerajaan tiada lagi berkeputusan ter-lalu sa-kali berbahagia.'

Maka di-titahkan Sultan pergi mengambil tuan puteri Ganggang itu. Sa-telah itu, maka pergi berengkap-lah menteri itu juga akan menjemput tuan puteri itu ka-benua Perlak. Hatta berapa lama-nya dalam pelayaran itu, maka sampai-lah ia ka-dalam negeri Perlak; maka masok-lah ia menteri itu serta segala inangda-nya mengadap Sultan Perlak, serta ia berdatang sembah 'Ya tuan-ku shah alam, akan sembah paduka anakanda Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh empunya sembah serta toodzim ka-bawah duli shah alam paduka anakanda memohonkan tuan patek tuan puteri Ganggang itu.' Maka titah Raja Perlak, 'Baik-lah kami anugerahkan-lah anak kami itu.' Maka baginda pun menyuroh lengkap sa-ratus perahu akan *منتكن* paduka anakanda itu Tun Perpatéh Pandak akan pengtua-nya menghantarkan tuan puteri Ganggang itu ka-negeri Semudera *daru'l-islam* dan baginda menyurohkan berbuat istana-nya sa-kali akan tempat tuan puteri itu dudok, serta dengan segala dayang-dayang-nya bēti-bēti perwara-nya dan segala alat kerajaan. Sa-telah sudah mustaēd-lah, maka pada ketika hari yang baik maka Sultan Perlak pun berangkat-lah baginda menghantarkan naik anakanda tuan puteri itu ka-kuala dengan segala bunyi-bunyian. Sa-telah sudah sampai ka-kuala, maka tuan puteri Ganggang pun menyembah ayahanda dan bonda-nya dan saudara-nya kedua serta bertangis-tangisan. Maka dipelok di-chium oleh ayahanda dan bonda-nya dan saudara-nya kedua. Maka tuan puteri Ganggang pun naik-lah ka-perahu lalu berlayar-lah. Maka Sultan Perlak pun kembali-lah ka-istana-nya dengan perchintaan-nya.

Sa-telah beberapa lama-nya berlayar di-laut itu, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Jambu Ayēr, singgah-lah Tun Perpatéh Pandak membawa tuan puteri ka-pada istana-nya itu. Maka berhias-lah tuan

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puteri itu. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pun berangkat-lah men-galu-ngalukan tuan puteri itu, lalu di-bawa-nya masok ka-dalam negeri Semudera daru'l-islam di-permulia-nya dengan beberapa kemulia-an, sa-telah datang-lah ia ka-istana-nya, maka baginda pun menyuroh memulaï berjaga-jaga akan kerja kahwin itu. Hatta beberapa lama-nya berjaga-jaga itu, maka baginda pun kahwin-lah dengan tuan puteri Ganggang itu, sa-telah sudah kahwin, maka baginda pun memberi anugerah persalin akan segala hulu-balang dan memberi derma akan segala faqir dan miskin dalam negeri itu daripada emas dan perak, dan akan Tan Perpatteh Pandak pun di-anugerahi daripada beberapa pakaian yang indah-in-dah dan segala orang yang datang serta-nya sakalian itu pun di-anugerahi baginda daripada emas dan perak. Sa-telah sudah ba-ginda memberi anugerah, maka Tun Perpatteh Pandak pun bermohon-lah kepada baginda hendak kembali ka-Perlak. Sa-telah sudah, maka baginda laki isteri pun berkirim sembah kepada ayah-anda dan bonda dan kepada saudara baginda yang dua orang serta dengan pakaian yang mulia-mulia.

Maka Tun Perpatteh Pandak pun kembali-lah ia ka-Perlak. Bermula istana-nya yang di-suroh perbuat akan tempat-tempat tuan puteri برکدای itu. Maka di-suroh Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pula perbaik dan di-namaï negeri itu رام کندی di-sebut orang datang sekarang ini.

Hatta beberapa lama-nya Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh dalam negeri itu kerajaan, maka datang sa-buah kapal dari benua Keling ber-niaga, dan ada sa-orang dalam kapal itu tahu ia melihat asfa' emas. Maka kata-nya, 'Dalam negeri ini ada tujuh tempat asfa' emas keluar tiada di-ketahuï olèh orang dalam negeri ini.' Maka ada sa-orang orang Sultan ia menengar kata orang kapal itu, maka lalu di-persembahkan-nya kepada Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. Maka di-suroh baginda panggil Keling itu yang berkata demikian, maka Keling itu pun datang mengadap Sultan. Maka sabda baginda kepada Keling itu, 'Sungguh-kah seperti kata-mu dalam negeri ini ada asfa' emas.' Maka berdatang sembah Keling itu, 'Ya tuan-ku Shah alam, jikalau di-negeri kami yang di-perhamba yang seperti penglihat hamba ini tiada lagi bersalahan.' Sa-telah di-dengar olèh Sultan sembah Keling itu, maka di-anugerah olèh Sultan akan Keling itu persalin sa-lengkap-nya adat pakaian. Maka sabda Sultan, 'Jikalau sungguh seperti kata-mu itu, pergi-lah engkau mengambil dia kepada tempat asfa' emas itu.' Maka Keling itu pun menyembah, lalu ia pergi dengan lashkar Sultan itu. Sa-telah ia sampai kepada tempat itu, maka di-suroh-nya korek tanah itu. Maka ada-lah emas itu di-peroleh-nya terlalu banyak, sa-kira-kira lima ma'din maka di-bawa-nya-lah emas itu kahadapan Sul-

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tan. Maka Sultan pun terlalu amat sukachita, karna beroleh emas itu.

Hatta beberapa lama-nya Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh di-dalam kerajaan, maka tuan puteri pun hamil-lah. Sa-telah genap-lah bulan-nya, maka tuan puteri pun beranak-lah laki-laki terlalu amat baik paras-nya. Maka Sultan pun amat sukachita melihat anak-anda baginda itu, maka di-suroh-nya peliharakan kapada inangda-nya dan pengasoh-nya yang tua-tua. Maka di-titahkan baginda orang memalu genderang dan segala bunyi-bunyian berjaga-jaga seperti adat segala raja-raja beranak. Sa-telah genap-lah tujuh hari tujuh malam baginda berjaga-jaga bersuka-sukaan makan minum masing-masing membawa kesukaan-nya, maka pada hari berijak tanah dan beraqiqa maka segala rayat dan menteri hulu-balang pun berhimpun-lah makan minum. Sa-telah sudah, maka baginda memberi derma kurnia akan segala menteri dan hulu-balang dan rayat besar dan kechil dan segala faqir miskin sakalian-nya. Sa-telah sudah, maka Sultan menama'i anakanda baginda itu Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir. Sa-telah sampai umur baginda akil baligh, maka ia di-rajakan dalam negeri Semudera itu.

Kata *sahibu'l-hikaya*. Maka pada suatu hari Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pergi bermain-main berburu dengan segala lashkar-nya ka-tepi laut. Maka di-bawa-nya sa-ekor anjing perburuan bernama Si-Pasai itu. Maka tatkala sampai-lah baginda itu ka-tepi laut, maka di-suroh-nya lepaskan anjing perburuan itu, lalu ia masok-lah ka-dalam hutan yang di-tepi laut itu. Maka bertemu ia dengan sa-ekur pelandok dudok di-atas pada suatu tanah yang tinggi. Maka di-salak-nya ileh anjing itu hendak di-tangkap-nya, maka tatkala pelandok anjing itu mendapatkan dia, maka di-salak-nya anjing itu oleh pelandok; maka anjing itu pun undur-lah. Maka tatkala di-lihat pelandok anjing itu undur, maka lalu pelandok kembali pula pada tempat-nya. Maka di-lihat oleh anjing pelandok itu kembali pada tempat-nya; maka di-dapatkan-nya pelandok itu oleh anjing, lalu ia berdakap-dakapan kira-kira tujuh kali. Maka hairan-lah baginda melihat hal kelakuan anjing dengan pelandok itu; maka masok-lah baginda sendiri-nya hendak menangkap pelandok itu ka-atas tanah tinggi itu. Maka pelandok pun lari; maka di-dakap-nya juga oleh anjing itu. Maka sabda baginda kapada segala orang yang ada bersama-sama dengan dia itu, 'Ada-kah penah-nya kamu lihat pelandok yang gagah sabagai ini? Maka pada biehara-ku sebab karna ia diam pada tempat ini, itu-lah rupa-nya maka pelandok itu menjadi gagah.' Maka sembah merêka itu sakalian, 'Sa-benar-nya-lah seperti sabda yang maha mulia itu.' Maka fiqir-lah baginda itu, 'Baik tempat ini ku perbuat negeri anak-ku Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir kerajaan.' Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pun kembali-lah ka-istana-nya. Maka

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pada keesokkan hari-nya, maka baginda pun memberi titah kepada segala menteri dan hulubalang rayat gala tantera sakalian menyuroh menebas tanah akan tempat negeri, masing-masing pada kuasa-nya dan di-suroh baginda perbuat istana pada tempat tanah tinggi itu.

Sa-telah sudah jadi negeri itu, maka anjing perburuan yang bernama Si-Pasai itu pun mati-lah pada tempat itu. Maka di-suroh Sultan tanamkan akan dia di-sana juga. Maka dinamai baginda akan nama anjing nama negeri itu; maka di-titahkan-nya-lah anakanda baginda Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir kerajaan dalam negeri itu dan ayahanda Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh itu diam di-Semudera *darul'l-islam* juga.

Hatta beberapa lama-nya Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir dalam negeri Pasai itu, maka di-anugerahkan Allah ta'ala akan baginda anak dua orang laki-laki, yang tua bernama Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud dan yang muda bernama Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir pun akit-lah hingga datang hukum Allah atas-nya, maka mati-lah ia, maka di-tanamkan orang-lah seperti adat segala raja-raja yang telah kembali ka-rahmatu'llah itu. Karna anakanda baginda kedua-nya itu lagi kechil. Maka kerajaan negeri Pasai itu nenda-lah yang melenggarakan dia sementara menantikan chuchunda baginda kedua itu besar, supaya dapat ia melenggarakan kerajaan itu dalam negeri Pasai itu. Ada pun anak raja yang bernama Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud itu di-serahkan nenda baginda kapada Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din di-surohkan baginda berajar segala ilmu dan bermain senjata dan menaik gajah dan memachu kuda. Maka yang bernama Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu di-serahkan nenda baginda kapada Sayid Asmayu'd-din.

Hatta beberapa lama-nya, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun besar-lah ia, maka ia-lah di-rajakan oleh nenda baginda kerajaan di-negeri Pasai itu. Maka Sayid Ghiatu'd-din akan perdana menteri-nya. Maka oleh baginda segala rayat dan daripada segala harta dan segala perkakas daripada segala alah kerajaan daripada gajah dan kuda dan segala senjata sakalian itu, di-bahagikan nenda baginda dua bahagi di-berikan kapada chunda baginda Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud sa-bahagi dan yang sa-bahagi lagi itu di-taroh-nya akan chunda Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, karna Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur lagi kanak-kanak. Maka tinggal-lah Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud di-kerajaan di-negeri Pasai. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pun kembali serta membawa chunda baginda Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ka-negeri Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*.

Hatta maka berapa lama-nya antara-nya maka Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pun sakit-lah maka baginda menghimpunkan segala

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menteri hulubalang dan segala orang besar-besar dalam negeri itu dan segala rayat besar kecil akan mentabalkan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur; maka berhimpun-lah sakalian merēka itu mengadap Sultan; maka titah Sultan, 'Hai segala kamu sakalian menteri dan hulubalang-ku dan segala rayat bala tentera-ku, bahwa aku hendak merajakan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ini karna aku hampir-lah rasa-nya akan meninggalkan negeri yang *fana'* ini kembali ka-negeri yang *baqa'* itu. Apa bichara kamu sakalian suka-kah atau tidak-kah?' Maka berdatang sembah-lah sakalian merēka itu, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, sa-benar-nya-lah seperti sabda shah alam yang maha mulia itu, karna Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun besar-lah sahaja sa-harus-nya-lah kami sakalian menyembah chunda Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur.' Maka titah baginda, 'Jika demikian tabalkan-lah olēh segala menteri dan hulubalang dan segala orang besar-besar akan baginda itu dalam negeri Semudera ini.'

Maka ada sa-kira-kira tiga hari sudah tabal itu, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh pun berwasiya kapada Sayid Amayu-d-din dan Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din. 'Hai Perlana menteri kedua baik-baik kamu kedua ini memelihara chuchu-ku kedua ini *insha'a'llah ta'ala* jangan kamu beri bersalahan ia dua bersaudara serta kamu kedua ajari; hendak-lah jangan kamu kedua mengubahkan setia kamu akan chuchu-ku kedua dan jangan kamu menyembah segala raja-raja yang lain daripada chuchu-ku hubaya-hubaya jangan kamu beri teraniaya'i daripada segala hamba Allah dan jangan kamu mengerjakan segala perkerjaan yang bersalahan dengan *hukmu'llah*, karna *firman* allah ta'ala di-dalam *qur'an* demikian herti-nya; barang siapa tiada menghukumkan dengan barang hukum yang di-turunkan Allah, maka bahwa sanya merēka itu jadi *kafir*.'

Maka kedua menteri itu pun sujud menundukkan kepala-nya seraya ia menangis berdatang sembah kedua-nya menteri itu, 'Ya tuanku shah alam *zillu 'llahi fi'l-alam*, demiallah ta'ala tuhan seru alam sakalian *insha'a'llah ta'ala* bahwa kedua kami yang diperhamba tiada-lah dapat melalui seperti tabda shah alam yang mahu mulia itu dan tiada-lah kami menyembah segala raja-raja yang lain daripada anak chuchu shah alam yang di-atas batu kepala kami kedua ini.'

Maka di-suroh oleh Sultan panggil kedua chunda baginda itu. Sa-telah datang-lah kedua raja itu, maka Paduka Sri Sultan pun bersabda-lah kapada chunda kedua itu dan kapada segala menteri dan kapada segala orang besar-besar sakalian, demikian sabda baginda, 'Hai chuchu-ku kedua-lah ketahu'i oleh kamu kedua, karna aku ini sakit sangat rasa-nya hampir-lah *hukmu'llah ta'ala* akan daku berpindah dari negeri yang *fana'* ka-negeri yang

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*baqa'* itu: ada pun peninggal-ku ini baik-baik kamu kedua memelihara pekerjaan *al-amru bi'lma'rufi wa'l-nahyu 'ani'l-munkar*. Sa-bermula jangan kamu banyak tama' akan harta dunia, karna dunia ini tempat segala yang maghrur dan jangan sangat kamu ingin akan segala yang tiada memberi *manfa'a* akan kamu *di-akhi-rat*, dan jangan kamu tiada *muwafaqa* dua bersaudara daripada segala pekerjaan kamu; jangan sa-kali-kali bersalahan antara kamu kedua bersaudara supaya di-kararkan Allah *ta'ala* engkau kedua dalam kerajaan dan supaya di-perkenankan Allah segala pinta kamu daripada segala yang kebajikan dan jangan kamu melalui seperti berang yang di-titahkan Allah akan kamu dan jangan kamu taqsir pada menjejarkan pekerjaan yang kebajikan dan meninggalkan pekerjaan yang kejahatan dan menyuruhkan segala orang berbuat kebajikan dan melarangkan segala orang berbuat kejahatan serta dengan adil kamu kedua bersaudara akan segala rayat kamu itu. Hubaya-hubaya jangan tiada kamu turut wasiya-ku ini, hai chuchu-ku kedua.'

Maka chunda kedua pun sujud-lah serta dengan tangis-nya. Maka sembah-nya kedua, 'Daulat ya tuan-ku shah alam bertambah-tambah kurnia atas batu kepala patek kedua dengan berkat tuanku mengajar patek.' Sa-telah sudah baginda mengajar chunda kedua itu demikian, maka dengan *taqdir Allah ta'ala* selang tiga hari maka Sultan pun memelok menchiom chunda kedua lalu baginda kembali-lah *ka-rahmatu'llah ta'ala*. Maka di-tanamkan orang-lah seperti adat segala raja-raja yang telah pulang *ka-rahmatu'llah* itu. Maka dari karna itu-lah di-sebut orang datang sekarang Pادuka (al-) Sayid Al-Marhum Semudera. Sa-telah itu, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud itu-lah kerajaan di-Pasai dan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu-lah kerajaan Semudera itu. Maka negeri yang kedua itu pun terlalu ramai dan memberi segala rayat dalam negeri itu dan beberapa daripada gajah dan kuda *j.n.h.l.m.* makanan-nya dan beberapa daripada segala *r.r.k.* yang lain tiada terhisabkan banyak-nya kapada zaman baginda kedua bersaudara itu.

Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun bertambah-tambah kebesaran-nya dan kemuliaan-nya. Maka terdengar-lah warta (pada) masa itu kapada Raja Siam. Maka Raja Siam pun menyuruh melengkap perahu sa-kira-kira sa-ratus buah banyak-nya besar kechil akan mendatangi negeri Pasai itu. Sa-telah lengkap-lah segala kelengkapan itu, maka di-surohkan-nya sa-orang hulu-balang yang terbesar akan panglima-nya yang bernama Talak Sejang itu, sa-telah sudah, maka berlayar-lah segala kelengkapan itu menuju negeri Pasai. Hatta beberapa lama-nya maka sampai-lah ka-orang negeri itu perahu terlalu amat banyak berlaboh dalam telok itu, maka di-persembahkan-nya kapada Sultan

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Maliku'l-Mahmud, sembah-nya, 'Ya tuan-ku shah alam, ada hamba-mu lihat itu perahu angkatan rupa-nya terlalu banyak berlaboh dalam telok kita ini, siapa tahu dari-mana gerakan datang-nya dan apa gerakan pekerjaan-nya.' Maka titah Sultan kepada sa-orang hulubalang-nya bernama Barang Laksamana, 'Hai Barang Laksamana pergi-lah engkau melihat perahu itu.' Maka Barang Laksamana pun menyembah lalu ia segera pergi; maka sampai-lah Barang Laksamana itu kepada perahu-perahu itu, maka kata Barang Laksamana, 'Darimana datang perahu ini dan hendak kamana kamu ini dan apa maqsud kamu ini?' Maka sahut-nya orang perahu itu, 'Ada pun perahu kami datang-nya dari benua Siam dan akan maqsud kami di-surokkan oleh Raja Siam maqsud kami ini, neschaya kembali-lah kami membawa ufti itu dan jikalau tiada ada seperti demikian itu, neshaya kami perang-lah negeri kamu ini dan Talak Sembang kami panglima-nya.'

Maka segera-lah Barang Laksamana kembali mengadap raja, maka berdatang sembah ia, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun perahu itu datang-nya dari benua Siam, Talak Sembang nama panglima-nya, datang-nya di-surohkan Raja benua Siam hendak meminta ufti negeri kita ini, jikalau ada sampai seperti kehendak-nya neschaya di-perangi-nya-lah akan negeri kita ini, ya shah alam.' Demi di-dengar Sultan kata itu, maka baginda pun amarah terlalu amat sangat, muka-nya pun taram-ttruman dan segala roma-nya pun berdiri serta baginda bersabda kepada mamanda Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din menyuroh menghampunkan segala menteri hulubalang pahlawan dan segala rayat masing-masing hadir dengan segala senjata-nya menantikan musoh-nya itu naik ka-darat. Setelah sudah musta'idd, maka sabda Sultan demikian, 'Demi kemuliaan dan kebesaran tuhan yang menjadikan seru alam sakalian jangankan ufti negeri ini 'ku hingga sa-helai roma rambut yang luroh tiada berguna pun tiada 'ku beri.'

Maka terdengar-lah segala kata Sultan itu pada Talak Sembang, maka ia pun menyurohkan naik segala rayat-nya ka-darat berbuat kota. Maka naik-lah segala hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat-nya berkota di-tepi laut itu. Hatta selang tiga hari lama-nya, maka di-suroh Sultan keluar, maka keluar-lah orang itu sakalian; maka bertemu-lah kedua pihak itu, maka perang-lah sakalian merêka itu kedua pihak. Maka pada hari itu Barang Laksamana akan panglima perang, maka daripada kedua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka; maka masing-masing kedua (pihak) lashkar itu pun surut-lah ka-dalam kota-nya. Maka pada keesokkan hari-nya Tun Rawan Pematang akan panglima-nya membawa segala rayat dan gajah yang bernama Dola Laut dan Muda Besi. Maka perang-lah kedua pihak lashkar itu terlalu ramai lagi 'azama.

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Maka daripada kedua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka, maka masing-masing kembali-lah, demikian-lah perang itu pada sa-hari-hari tiada berhenti kira-kira dua bulan lama-nya perang itu, dan Tun Rawan Pematang pun luka dan Barang Lak-samana pun luka.

Maka pada keesokkan hari-nya Tun Aria Jong pula akan panglima-nya, maka perang-lah kedua pihak lashkar itu, maka patah-lah perang Tun Aria Jong lalu masok-lah ka-dalam kota-nya, maka pada keesokkan hari-nya, maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud terlalu marah melihat hal yang demikian itu. Maka Sultan pun menyuruh menghimpunkan segala rayat besar kecil hingga dapat memegang senjata masing-masing dengan senjata-nya. Maka Sultan pun keluar-lah sendiri-nya pergi mendatangi Talak Sembang, maka ia pun keluar-lah dari dalam kota-nya berdiri di-medan bersaf-saf, maka berhadapan-lah kedua pihak lashkar itu. Maka perang-lah merêka itu terlalu ramai gegak gempita kelim kabut duli beterbangan ka-udara, tiada-lah berkenalan segala manusia dan bunyi tempêk segala hulubalang dan segala rayat juga yang kedengaran dan gemerengchang bunyi segala senjata bahana-nya datang ka-tengah rimba. Maka daripada sangat darib perang itu jadi gempita-lah, maka daripada kedua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka.

Bermula panglima-nya yang bernama 'Talak Sembang kena panah dada-nya terus ka-belakang-nya lalu mati-lah ia. Maka sorak orang Pasai pun gemuruh seperti tagar, kemudian dari itu, maka patah-lah perang rayat Siam itu lalu lari membuang belakang cherai berai tiada berketahuan, yang lari ka-darat habis di-bunuh oleh orang Pasai dan yang lepas ka-laut itu lalu naik ia ka-perahu-nya lalu ia berlayar pulang menuju negeri Siam.

Maka Sultan pun kembali-lah ka-istana-nya dengan kementerian-nya dan dengan sukachita-nya. Kemudian daripada itu negeri Pasai terlalu ramai-nya dengan maamur-nya dalam negeri itu. Bermula maka Sultan pun sentiasa dengan bersuka-sukaan maka minum dengan segala menteri hulubalang dan segala orang besar-besar-nya, maka anak sa-orang segala manusia dalam negeri itu. Hatta berapa lama-nya Sultan Malikul-Mahmud dalam kerajaan, maka di-anugerah Allah bagi-nya anak sa-orang laki-laki dan dua orang perempuan dan laki itu di-namai baginda akan dia Sultan Ahmad Perumadal Perumal.

Maka pada suatu hari Sultan Malikul-Mahmud bersabda kapada segala hulubalang-nya dan menteri-nya 'Ada pun sekarang aku hendak pergi bermain-main ka-ulu ungai hendak melihat segala negeri dan segala dusun serta kita menjerat gajah dan ber-

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buru hingga sampai-lah kita ka-benua اندمن melihat segala negeri dan dusun.' Maka pada ketika yang baik Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun berangkat-lah dengan segala menteri hulubalang dengan segala bala tentera-nya. Maka lalu baginda berjalan kapada segala negeri dan dusun bermain-main berjamu-jamuan, dengan segala menteri hulubalang makan minum bersuka-sukaan. Berapa lama antara-nya, maka di-cheterakan olèh orang empunya chetera, tatkala Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud berangkat itu, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun hendak pergi beramai-ramai akan berjamu-jamuan dengan segala menteri hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat makan minum bersuka-sukaan Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun menyuruhkan orang berlengkap akan mengiringkan Sultan itu. Maka Sayid Asmayu'd-din pun berdatang sembah, demikian sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam betapa peri-nya duli tuanku pergi beramai-ramai ka-tepi laut, karna paduka kakanda Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud tiada ada dalam negeri Pasai, karna jalan dari sana daripada sisi kakanda itu, takut siapa tahu keluar datang *fitna shaitan* kapada hati sa-orang manusia, jika kedengaran kapada paduka kakanda ta' dapat tiada jadi perseteruan akibat-nya.

Maka tiada juga di-dengarkan olèh Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur sembah Sayid Asmayu'd-din itu. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun berangkat-lah berjalan ka-tepi laut pergi bermain-main serta berjamu segala menteri hulubalang makan minum bersuka-sukaan. Maka tatkala ia kembali sampai-lah berjalan kapada hampir kota Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud itu, maka terlihat-lah olèh Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur sa-orang perempuan keluar dari dalam istana terlalu sa-kali baik paras-nya. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun berahi-lah akan dia; maka di-suroh baginda ambil perempuan itu lalu di-bawa-nya kembali ka-istana-nya dengan segala hulubalang-nya. [Hatta maka beberapa lama-nya Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dalam kerajaan itu, maka di-anugerahkan Allahu subhanahu wata'ala bagi-nya anak tiga orang, dua orang perempuan sa-orang laki-laki.]

Hatta, maka beberapa lama-nya kedengaran-lah warta-nya itu kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud akan hal Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur mengambil perempuan yang keluar dari istana itu. Maka demi Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud menengar warta itu, maka baginda pun terlalu marah akan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dengan Sayid Asmayu'd-din itu, karna ia perdana menteri yang tua mengadap, maka ia tiada mahu menegahkan dia segala pekerjaan kelakuan-nya itu, "Karna itu-lah jikalau tiada Sayid Asmayu'd-din itu 'ku bunoh tiada puas rasa hati-ku.' Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun kembali-lah ka-istana-nya, maka berdam-dam-lah dalam hati-nya akan Sayid Asmayu'd-din.

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Bermula akan Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din pun tua-lah maka ada sa-orang mentua-nya bernama Tulus Agong Tukang Sukera ia-itu akan ganti-nya perdana menteri. Maka sabda Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud, 'Hai Tulus Aging Tukang Sukera, apa bichara kita akan Asmayu'd-din itu, takut akan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu berbahaya kalau-kalau ia melawan kita.' Maka Tulus Agong Tukang Sukera pun berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau dengan kita *maslahatkan* sa-orang pun tiada berbahaya, ia pun dengan sejahtera-nya hamba tangkap.' Maka sabda Sutan, 'Betapa *maslahatkan* kita akan dia.' Maka sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, karna anakanda Sultan Ahmad Perumadal Perumal itu belum khitan, baik-lah kita mendudokkan pekerjaan, maka kita panggil paduka adinda Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu ka-mari, setelah ia datang, maka di-sana-lah barang bichara kita akan dia; terlalu amat mudah pekerjaan itu.'

Maka pada hati baginda pun berkenan-lah akan sembah Tulus Agong Tukang Sukera itu. Maka pada suatu hari yang baik, maka di-suroh Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud memulai mendudokkan pekerjaan bejaga-jaga akan mengkhitankan paduka anakanda Sultan Ahmad Perumadal Perumal itu, maka di-suroh panggil saudara-nya Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ka-negeri Semudera daru'l-islam. Maka pergi-lah orang memanggil itu. Maka apabila sampai-lah ia kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu, maka sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, tuanku di-persilakan paduka kakanda ka-Pasai, karna paduka kakanda hendak mengkhitankan paduka anakanda.' Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun berangkat-lah lalu berjalan ka-Pasai.

Sa-telah sampai lalu masok-lah baginda mengadap paduka kakanda Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud itu. Bermula segala hulubalang-nya tinggal-lah di-luar. Demi datang-lah ia kahadapan Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun memberi ishara menyuroh tangkap Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dengan segala hulubalang-nya, dan Sayid Asmayu'd-din tertangkap-lah. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur di-suroh penjarakan dengan segala hulubalang-nya dan Sayid Asmayu'd-din pun dalam penjara juga maka fikir Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud itu sendiri-nya, lalu ia bersabda kapada Tuan Perpatéh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukera, 'Apa bichara kita akan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ini; baik-kah ia kita jauhkan daripada negeri ini, atau kita suroh ia kembali ka-negeri-nya.' Maka Tun Perpatéh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukera pun berdatang sembah. 'Ya tuanku shah alam jikalau tuanku menengarkan sembah paték baik-lah baginda ini kita jauhkan dari negeri ini seperti kata orang tua-tua, apa-bila jauh dari mata, jauh dari hati, jikalau baginda itu hampir, neschaya terchachat juga shah alam akan pekerjaan paduka adinda itu,

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ta'dapat tiada juga bertambah hati shah alam sakit juga. Jikalau demikian baik-lah baginda kita hantarkan kapada suatu negeri yang jauh dari sini.'

Maka di-suroh Sultan lengkap perahu badang empat lima buah akan meng-hantarkan Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ka-negeri <sup>تسيغ</sup> akan memeliharakan-nya Tun Jaya Pangliran. Sa-telah itu, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun di-bawa orang-lah baginda ka-perahu dengan segala harta-nya dan segala hamba sahaya-nya. Maka lalu ia berlayar. Shahadan maka menteri Asmayu'd-din pun di-suroh Sultan keluarkan dari dalam penjara; maka di-bawa orang-lah ka-hadapan Sultan. Maka sabda Sultan, 'Hai Asmayu'd-din, mahu-kah engkau diam di-sini bersama-sama dengan aku atau tiada-kah. Maka ia berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, jika patêk di-cheraiakan dengan tuan patêk baik-lah shah alam cheraiakan badan patêk dengan kepala patêk.' Maka di-suroh Sultan penggal-lah lèhër-nya; maka di-penggal orang-lah lèhër-nya. Maka di-suroh olèh Sultan kepala-nya buangkan ka-laut dan badan-nya di-suroh sulakan di-kuala Pasai.

Maka dengan *taqdir* Allah *ta'ala* kepala Sayid Asmayud'din itu pun mengikut perahu Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dalam ayër itu. Maka Sultan pun sampai-lah ka-labohan Jambu Ayër. Maka lalu ia berlaboh, maka di-dengar-nya olèh pawang perahu itu kemudi-nya terketak-ketak; maka ia melihat ka-ayër; maka di-lihat-nya suatu kepala manusia tersangkut kapada kemudi-nya itu, maka di-persembahkan kapada Sultan Maliku'l Mansur; maka di-suroh Sultan ambil kepada itu, maka di-lihat-nya kepada Sayid Asmayu'd-din. Maka kata baginda itu, 'Wah ini-lah kepala ninèk-ku Asmayu'd-din wah betapa 'ku tahu peri-mu datang ka-mari ini dan di-mana 'ku tahu badan-mu sekarang.' Maka di-suroh Sultan chari bandan-nya itu, maka pergi sa-buah perahu menchari dia, maka di-lihat-nya ada badan-nya itu tersula di-Kuala Pasai, maka segera ia pergi memberi tahu Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur; maka di-suroh baginda pohonkan kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud. Maka titah di-suroh baginda ambil-lah mayyit-nya itu. Maka di-bawa orang-lah kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. Sa-telah sampai kapada baginda, maka di-lihat olèh Sultan mayyit-nya itu. Maka baginda pun terlalu menangis.

Maka di-pertemukan-nya kepala itu dengan badan-nya; maka di-mandikan nya dan *di-kafani-nya* lalu di-sembahyangkan baginda. Sa-telah itu, maka baginda pun naik-lah ka-darat menanamkan mayyit itu. Maka sabda baginda menamaï tempat itu Padang Maya, maka tiada berketahuan dari karna mayyit itu di-sebut orang Padang Maya juga nama-nya datang sekarang. Maka Sultan

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Maliku'l-Mansur pun menanamkan mayyit Sayid Semayam al Din itu. Sa-telah sudah di-tanamkan dan di-talqinkan dan di-bachakan baginda arwah. Maka Sultan pun naik-lah ka-perahu-nya, lalu berlayar menuju negeri Temiang. Sa-telah sampai-lah ia ka-dalam negeri itu.

Hatta beberapa lama-nya di-sana, maka pada suatu hari, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud semayam di-hadap segala hulubalang dan menteri dan segala rayat-nya, maka tersedar-lah ia akan saudara-nya Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu. Maka kata-nya, 'Wah terlalu sa-kali ahmaq budi-ku! Karna perempuan sa-orang saudara 'ku turunkan dari atas kerajaan-nya dan menteri-nya pun 'ku bunoh.' Maka baginda pun menyesal-lah, lalu ia menangis, maka baginda pun bertitah kapada segala hulubalang-nya, 'Pergi-lah kamu segera mengambil saudara-ku itu, karna aku terlalu sa-kali rindu dendam akan saudara-ku. Sa-telah sudah baginda bertitah, maka pergi-lah Tun Perpatēh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara dengan beberapa buah perahu. Sa-telah ia sampai-lah kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur itu, maka ia berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, paduka kakanda amat rindu dendam akan duli shah alam, ada pun patek ini di-surohkan paduka kakanda menjemput tuanku.' Maka baginda pun berkata, 'Baik-lah.' Maka sembah Tun Perpatēh, 'Baik-lah tuanku, silakan naik perahu.' Maka baginda pun turun lalu naik perahu dengan anak isteri baginda lan segala harta baginda dengan hamba sahaya-nya sakalian, keluar dari negeri Temiang lalu berlayar ka-negeri Pasai.

Hingga sampai-lah ka-Padang Maya pada kubur Asmayu'd-din itu, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur pun singgah-lah pada qubur Semayam al Din itu, hendak membacha (al-) fatiha dan mengaji du'a. Sa-telah sudah baginda membacha fatiha, maka baginda pun bangkit-lah lalu memberi salam pada qubur itu; demikian bunyi-nya salam-nya baginda itu. 'Al-salamu 'alai-kum ya qauma 'l-mu'minina wa inna insha'allahu bikumu 'lahiqun.'

Maka abda baginda, 'Tinggal-lah ninēk hamba, hamba pun pergi-lah.' Maka menyahut suara dalam qubur itu, demikian bunyi-nya 'Wa 'alaikum al-salam, hai chuchu-ku tuan, ka-mana pula pergi? Baik-lah baginda di-sini bertempat diam.'

Sultan menengar suara itu, maka baginda mengambil ayēr sembahyang lalu sembahyang-lah ia dua rak'a salam. Belum sudah baginda memberi salam, maka datang-lah wa'du'llah atas baginda di-ambil mal'aku 'l-maut-lah nyawa baginda, maka kembali-lah ia ka-rahmatu'llah ta'ala dan pada suatu kaul pada qual sujud-nya

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baginda berlaku. Maka hairan-lah segala manusia melihat baginda itu. Maka Tun Perpatih Tulus Agong 'Tukang Sukara pun segera-lah ia menyuruh pergi ka-Pasai bepersembahkan baginda kepada paduka kakanda Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud membawa khabar akan hal baginda demikian itu. Maka sampai-lah orang membawa khabar itu, maka di-persembahkan-nya dari permulaan-nya datang kepada kesudahan-nya seperti hal baginda itu. Sa-telah sudah di-dengar oleh baginda khabar adinda itu, maka baginda pun menghempaskan diri-nya ka-bumi dan membelah-belah baju-nya, lalu ia pengsan, tiada ia khabarkan diri-nya sakira-kira sa-jam lama-nya. Maka tatkala siuman-lah baginda itu daripada pengsan-nya, maka di-surau baginda ambil mayyit saudara-nya itu, maka lalu pergi-lah orang mengambil mayyit itu. Hatta beberapa lama-nya datang-lah mayyit itu ka-Pasai, maka di-quburkan kakanda baginda seperti adat segala raja-raja yang kembali ka-rahmatu'llah hampir dengan qubur ayahanda baginda.

Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun sangat-lah dukachitanya lagi dengan perchintaan-nya dan sesal-nya pun tiada berkesudahan.. Sa-telah beberapa lama-nya demikian itu, maka baginda pun turun-lah dari atas kerajaan-nya; maka Sultan Ahmad-lah di-rajakan oleh baginda dalam negeri Pasai. Hatta beberapa lama-nya Sultan Ahmad dalam kerajaan, maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun sakit-lah hampir akan pulang dari negeri yang *fana'* ka-negeri yang *baqa'*. Maka Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud pun berwasiya kepada Sultan Ahmad, demikian bunyi-nya, 'Hai anak-ku, chahaya mata-ku dan buah hati-ku, baik-baik engkau memelihara dalam kerajaan-mu ini akan segala pekerjaan *amru 'llah* dan *amru rasuli 'llah* dan menegahkan segala larangan kedua-nya, dan jangan-lah lalu seperti *firman Allah ta'ala* dan seperti sabda nabi Muhammad rasulu 'llahi salla 'llahu 'alaihi wa sallam, hai anak-ku, jangan tiada engkau turut seperti pesan-ku ini; dan jika pada sesuatu pekerjaan hendak-lah engkau *mashwara* dengan segala menteri-mu yang tua tua dan jangan segera engkau berbuat sa-suatu pekerjaan hingga baik-lah *mashwara* dengan segala menteri hulu-balang-mu, maka engkau kerjakan. Dan perbanyak oleh-mu *shar'* pada segala pekerjaan yang tiada patut pada *shar'* dan jangan engkau menganiaya dan membinasakan segala hamba Allah ta'ala tiada dengan sa-benar-nya dan jangan engkau melalui *al-amru bi 'lma 'rufi* wa *'l-nahyu 'ani 'l-munkar*, hai anak-ku, karna dunia ini negeri yang *fana'* tiada akan kekal ada-nya, dan akhira juga negeri yang *baqa'*, hai anak-ku hubaya jangan tiada 'kau turut wasiat-ku ini.'

Maka Sultan Ahmad pun tundok lalu sujud seraya ia menyembah lalu menangis terlalu sangat. Hatta beberapa lama-nya Sultan Malik'ul Mahmud pun sangat-lah sakit-nya, lalu baginda

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pulang ka-rahmatu'llah, maka baginda pun di-tanamkan olèh anakanda baginda dengan segala menteri hulubalang-nya di-sisi masjid di-perbuatkan-nya olèh anakanda itu k.b.h seperti adat segala raja-raja yang sudah pulang ka-rahmatu'llah seperti yang dahulu-dahulu itu, maka Sultan Ahmad-lah naik atas takhta kerajaan.

## Part 2

Hatta maka beberapa lama-nya dalam kerajaan, maka pada suatu masa datang sa-buah kapal Keling dari benua-nya. Maka ada sa-orang jogi di-bawa-nya dalam kapal Keling itu, terlalu amat sakit jogi itu, maka naik-lah segala orang kapal itu, serta membawa jogi itu mengadap Sultan Ahmad dan di-bawa-nya olèh jogi itu suatu tongkat, maka di-hunjamkan-nya tongkat itu di-hadapan pengadapan Sultan Ahmad, maka di-sangkutkan-nya dagu-nya pada tongkat itu, maka keempat kaki tongka itu meng.I.k. Sa-telah itu, maka di-hunjamkan-nya pula sahut-nya pada suatu papan, maka ia pun mengelok juga berkisar-kisar dan berpusing-pusing. Maka jogi itu pun jatuh ka-tanah lalu ia pengsan sebab daripada keramat Sultan itu. Maka Sultan pun hairan-lah melihat dia, karna daripada sebab sangat ia tahu bermain-main sihr-nya, maka kemudian dari itu jogi itu pun lalu masok ia igama islam. .Maka ia-lah manggil Sultan Ahmad Permadala Permala itu.

Hatta maka beberapa lama-nya baginda dalam kerajaan, maka di-anugerahkan Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala akan Sultan itu tiga-puloh anak-nya dalam pada itu yang sa-ibu sa-bapa lima orang, tiga orang laki-laki, yang pertama nama-nya Tun Beraim Bapa, kedua bernama Tun Abdul Jalil ketiga bernama Tun Abu'l Fazil dan dua orang perempuan sa-orang bernama Tun M.d.m. Peria dan sa-orang bernama Tun Takiah Dara. Al-kēsah maka tersebut-lah perkataan Tun Beraim Bapa, di-cheterakan olèh orang yang empunya chetera; ada pun akan Beraim Bapa terlalu amat perkasa-nya lagi pahlawan tiada berbagai pada akhir zaman itu; tujuh hasta tinggi-nya dan dua hasta bidang dada-nya, maka jikalau tujuh depa tebal kota tanah di-lotar-nya dengan batang kelembur luloh lantak, maka mashhur-hal nama warta-nya ka-benua Keling.

Ada pun akan Tun Abdul Jalil itu baik rupa-nya dan paras-nya tiada berbagai pada masa itu; jikalau ia berdiri di-pintu تنيا maka berseri-lah pintu itu dan jikalau ia berdiri di-lepau yang bernama دلخا itu, maka berseri-lah rupa دلخا itu dan jikalau ia berdiri di-pekan neschaya berchahaya-lah segala pekan itu dari

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pada amat eloh rupa-nya dan jikalau ia memakai chara Jawa sa-rupa Jawa dan jika ia memakai chara Siam sa-rupa Siam, dan jika ia memakai chara Keling sa-rupa Keling dan jika ia memakai chara Arab sa-rupa Arab. Maka mashhur-lah warta-nya ka-benua Jawa kapada tuan puteri Gemergenhang anak Ratu Majapahit.

Ada pun akan Tun Abu'l-Fazil itu terlalu sa-kali alim lagi baginda tahu pada segala 'ilmu pandita dan beberapa pandita yang datang dari atas angin hendak bersu'al dengan baginda itu tiada sangkal daripada terlalu sangat bijaksana-nya, maka mashhur-lah warta-nya ka-benua Semerkendi.

Ada pun anak Sultan Ahmad Perumadal Perumal yang bernama Tun M.d.m Peria dan Tun Takiah Dara itu terlalu amat baik sangat paras-nya, tiada ada sama-nya pada zaman-nya itu, ada pun akan Sultan Ahmad itu ada perdana menteri-nya yang besar empat orang, sa-orang bernama Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara dan kedua bernama Baba Mentuah dan ketiga bernama Sulaiman Dendang Ayēr dan keempat bernama Tun Shah Alam Kota (كوت) tetapi akan Sultan itu terlalu ia berahi akan anak-nya yang bernama Tun M.d.m Peria dan Tun Tekiah Dara itu, maka pada suatu hari, Sultan Ahmad semayam di-hadap segala menteri dan segala hulubalang-nya maka baginda bersabda kapada segala hulubalang-nya demikian kata-nya. 'Jika sa-orang bertanam-tanaman, siapa yang harus dahulu makan dia.' Maka Tun Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara pun berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau kami yang di-perhamba ini bertanam-tanaman orang yang lain juga harus dahulu makan dia, lagi terlalu besar pahala-nya mendahulukan jamu itu,' karna Tun Perpatēh Tulus, Agong Tukang Sukara tahu ia akan kias kata raja itu. Maka Baba Mentuah pun berdatang sembah 'Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau kami yang di-perhamba bertanam-tanaman kami juga makan dia dahulu,' karna Baba Mentuah itu tiada ia tahu akan herti sabda raja itu.

Demi Sultan menengar sembah Baba Mentuah itu, maka baginda pun murka akan Tun Perpatēh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara itu. Maka dalam suatu Tun Perpatēh pun menyurohkan sa-orang perempuan memberi tahu Tun M.d.m Peria dan Tun Tekiah Dara akan perkataan Sultan bersabda itu kapada segala hulubalang itu, maka Tun M.d.m Peria pun menyuroh memberi tahu saudara-nya Tun Beraim ka-Tukas karna Tun Beraim Bapa itu dudok di-Tukas. Tatkala kedengaran-lah khabar itu kapada Tun Bapa, maka ia pun pergi-lah dengan segera-nya ka-Pasai lalu masok ka-dalam istana Sultan Ahmad. Maka di-rawan-nya oleh Tun Beraim Bapa kedua saudara-nya lalu di-bawa-nya ka-Tukas.

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Maka Seri Sultan pun marah berdendamkan Tun Beraim Bapa, sebab membawa kedua saudara-nya ka-Tukas itu.

Sa-telah berapa lama antara-nya, maka datang-lah sa-buah kapal dari benua Keling terlalu amat besar. Shahadan dalam kapal itu ada empat orang pendikar yang tiada berlawan dalam negeri-nya itu, dan ada sa-orang pendikar terlalu amat pandai lagi dengan perkasa-nya dari-pada sakalian teman-nya yang lain itu. Bermula datang-nya itu hendak menchari lawan ka-negeri Pasai. Sa-telah sampai-lah kapal itu ka-labohan Pasai, maka berlaboh-lah ia di-Telok Teria itu, dan sa-telah itu, maka naik-lah ia ka-darat, maka bertemu-lah ia dengan orang dalam negeri itu, maka bertanya-lah ia pada orang Telok Teria itu, kata-nya 'Apa-apa larangan Raja dalam negeri ini?' Maka jawab orang Telok Teria itu, 'Ada pun segala yang di-larangkan Raja dalam negeri ini dudok di-balai panjang pada medan raja dan menguraikan rambut dengan dudok berjuntai mengayun-ngayun kaki-nya, itu-lah di-larangkan dalam negeri ini. Sa-telah di-dengar oleh segala pendikar itu, maka kata-nya, 'Baik-lah, segala larangan itu beta kerjakan.' Maka segala pendikar itu pun berjalan-lah ka-Pasai, lalu ia ka-medan. Maka dudok ia di-balai panjang penoh dengan balai itu, dan dudok ia di-jambar panjang, sarat sa-jambar panjang, serta menguraikan rambut-nya dan berjuntai mengayun-ayun kaki-nya. Maka tatkala di-lihat orang akan pekerjaan-nya yang demikian itu, maka pergi-lah orang memberi tahu Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara.. Maka di-suroh Tun Perpateh persembahkan kapada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidena *P.nti*. Maka bersegera-lah kedua sida-sida itu memberi tahu Bujangga Baja Raya. Maka oleh Bujangga Baja Raya lalu di-persembahkan-nya ka-bawah duli shah alam, maka sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, bahwa kita ini kedatangan jamu orang helat asing, tandil-nya lashakar pendikar Keling datang-nya hendak menchari lawan, karna ia tiada berlawan dalam negeri-nya dengan کرب کورقن dan مکر سخرن . Maka dan mengayun-ngayun kaki-nya." Maka dudok di-balai panjang dan dudok di-jambar panjang serta menguraikan rambut-nya.

Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bersabda pada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidena *P.nti*, 'Pergi-lah kamu kedua ka-Tukas, beri tahu anak-ku Tun Beraim Bapa.' Maka pergi-lah kedua sida-sida ka-Tukas kapada Tun Beraim Bapa serta berdatang sembah kapada baginda, demikian sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku, paduka ayahanda kedatangan jamu orang helat asing, tandil-nya lashkar pendikar Keling, datang-nya menchari lawan karna it tiada berlawan dalam negeri dengan کرب کورقن dan مکر سخرن dudok ia di-balai panjang penoh sa-balai panjang, dan dudok ia di-jambar

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panjang sarat dengan sa-jambar panjang serta dengan menguraikan rambut-nya dan mengayun-ayun kaki-nya; karna itu-lah maka paduka ayahanda menyuroh memberi tahu tuanku.' Maka sahut Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Persembahkan-lah sembah hamba ka-bawah duli shah alam esok hari-lah hamba mengadap.' Maka kedua mereka itu pun kembali-lah di-persembahkan seperti sembah anakanda itu.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun bersabda kepada Perman Isap dua dengan orang Tikar, 'Pergi-lah kamu kedua ka-paduka Barah Bukit panggilkan aku mamak-ku pendikar Pulau Kukur; maka lalu engkau pergi ka-Kampung Bangka panggilkan aku akan mamak-ku pendikar Kampong Bangka dan lalu kamu ka-tanah Langgar panggilkan aku mamak-ku pahlawan Kampong Langgar, dan panggilkan aku abang-ku Malik Akasan, dan abang-ku Ali pendikar Kampong China, dan Tun Bijaya Pangiran dan روان, Permatang dengan lashkar-nya serta kamu juga datang-nya.' Maka pergi-lah Perman Isap dengan orang Tikar memanggil segala pahlawan dan segala pendikar itu. Sa-telah datang-lah sakalian mereka itu, 'Ya tuanku berapa lama-nya kami ini yang di-perhamba tiada penoh di-panggil seperti sekali ini. Jikalau orang hendak di-bunuh sa-kali pun, dapat juga ia bertunggh ada-nya.'

Maka sahut Tun Beraim Bapa; 'Ayoh sakalian mamak-ku dan sakalian abang-ku, ada pun maka hamba menyuroh memanggil mamak-ku dan abang-ku sakalian ini dari karna sebab shah alam kedatangan jamu orang helat asing, tandil-nya lashkar pendikar Keling, datang-nya itu hendak menchari lawan karna ia tiada berlawan di-negri-nya dan kerbagorak-nya dengan mekar khanjar-nya dudok ia di-balai panjang penoh sa-balai panjang dudok ia di-jambar panjang penoh dengan sa-jambar panjang dengan menguraikan rambut-nya dan mengayun-ngayun kaki-nya.' Sa-telah di-dengar sakalian mereka itu kata Tun Beraim Bapa demikian itu, maka sembah sakalian mereka itu kepada Tun Beraim Bapa 'Ya tuanku, jikalau ada tolong tuhan seru sakalian alam *insha'a 'Ilah ta'ala* kami-lah sakalian melawan tandil-nya lashkar pendikar Keling itu.'

Sa-telah itu maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun bersabda pada Perman Isap dan Orang Tikar, 'Hai mamak-ku pergi-lah kamu kedua ambil akan aku kersek barang sa-kuncha sa-orang kamu;' maka pergi-lah ia mengambil kersek, jangankan sa-kuncha sa-orang, lima nalah pun tiada dapat di-bawa-nya. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun pergi-lah sendiri-nya ka-pantai-mengambil kersek itu; serta di-ambil-nya kersek itu, lalu di-timbang-timbang-nya sa-kun-

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cha dari kiri-nya qasd-nya hendak membuang bara-nya jangankan ia kejang berpeloh pun ia tiada.

Maka Tun Beraim pun bersabda kepada Perman Isap dengan Orang Tikar, 'Hai mamak-ku panggilkan-lah aku Wasat Makam dan Wasat Perak.' Maka dengan saketika itu juga ia datang. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun bersabda kepada kedua merêka itu. 'Hai Wasat Makam dua dengan Wasat Perak palukan daku genderang perang dan tiupkan daku serunai perang; bahwa aku hendak bermain-main dengan segala guru-ku dan mamak-ku.' Maka di-palukan orang-lah genderang perang dan di-tiup-nya-lah serunai oleh orang kedua itu. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa berserama-lah di-hadapan guru-nya itu, kesad-nya hendak membuang bara-nya jangankan ia kejang berpeloh pun ia tiada.

Maka Paduka Seri Sultan pun terkejut daripada peraduan-nya sebab menengar bunyi genderang perang itu, serta baginda meruah Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, demikian sabda baginda.

'Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap!  
Bangun apa-lah engkau!  
Asal-mu orang terjunan pangliran!  
Karna engkau penghulu gundek-ku,  
Bergelar Tun Derma 'dikara.  
Bangun apa-lah engkau!  
Tiada-kah engkau dengar bunyi  
Genderang perang di-Tukas  
Palu taboh-tabohan  
Hari dinihari, bulan pun terang?

sa-malam ini musuh darimana kutaha datang? Berapa kutaha banyak-nya? Dan siapa pertahu-nya?' Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun terkejut daripada tidur-nya gegak gopohan, kain pun tiada terselindang lagi berpintal-pintal berchampur dengan bunga ayêr mawar, serta ia berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, mengapa, hamba-mu di-panggil pada ketika dini hari ini bulan-nya terang sa-malam ini pada ketika selatan? Pada ketika (ini) tidur nyedar.'

Maka paduka shah alam pun bersabda,

'Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap!  
Bergelar Tun Derma 'dikara.  
Tiada-kah kamu dengar (bunyi)  
Genderang (perang) di-Tukas  
Palu-nya taboh-tabohan  
Hari ini dinihari bulan-nya terang?

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Sa-malam ini musoh dari mana *kutaha* datang-nya? Berapa *kutaha* banyak-nya? siapa *kutaha* pertuha-nya? Suroh lihat apa-lah kapada segala orang yang di-bawah istana ini siapa ada, tiada.'

Maka Tun Derma 'dikara Tingkap pun lalu bangkit serta bertanya kapada orang yang di-bawah istana itu. Maka sahut Bermamat *P.nti* dan *Maidana P.nti*, 'Sakalian kami ada yang di-perhamba marhum di-bawah istana ini, pertama Bujangga Buja Raya dan Malik Sulaiman dan Sham Alam Kota pun ada sakalian di-bawah istana ini.' Maka kata Dara Zulaikha Tingkap akan sakalian merêka itu, 'Tiadakah kamu dengar genderang perang di-Tukas itu palu taboh-tabohan hari ini dini hari bulan-nya terang? Sa-malam ini musoh darimana *kutaha* datang? Berapa *kutaha* banyak-nya? Dan siapa *kutaha* pertuha-nya? Lihat apa-lah olêh kamu.'

Maka Besmamat *P.nti* pun pergi-lah ia berjalan ka-Tukas melihat dia. Maka di-lihat olêh kedua merêka itu Tun Beraim Bapa bermain-main dengan guru-nya dan dengan segala hulubalang-nya. Maka Bermamat *P.nti* dan *Maidana P.nti* pun kedua-nya segera-lah kembali dari Tukas. Sa-telah sudah ia datang, maka kata-nya, 'Hai Derma Dikara Tingkap datang-lah kami kedua ini dari Tukas. Suatu musoh pun tiada ada, melainkan Tun Beraim Bapa bermain-main bersenda bergurau dengan hulubalang-nya dan segala guru-nya.' Maka di-persembahkan olêh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap kapada shah alam, 'Suatu pun tiada ada musoh melainkan paduka anakanda Tun Beraim Bapa bersenda-senda berguran dengan segala hulubalang-nya.' Maka Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal pun bersabda kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap itu, maka kata baginda, Ayoh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap bergelar Derma 'dikara! Rahsia-ku ini jangan engkau katakan kapada sa-sa-orang jua pun, jikalau si-Beraim Bapa tiada 'ku bunoh, kerajaan 'ku jangan kekal dan bau shurga pun jangan 'ku chium.'

Sa-telah hari pun siang-lah, maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun bersabda kapada bendahari-nya bernama Dara Sipir, 'Hai Dara Sipir pipiskan aku olêh-mu bedak dan ramaskan limau. Aku hendak mandi dengan segala mamak-ku dan guru-ku.' Maka Dara Sipir pun membuka peti لوغ pemipis bedak dan meramas limau dan di-champuri-nya dengan kejamas. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun berbedak dan berlimau dengan segala hulubalang-nya dan segala guru-nya. Maka lalu-lah segala merêka itu ka-sungai sempang. Sa-telah sudah baginda mandi, lalu kembali ka-istana-nya, maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun menyuroh membukakan sa-buah peti mengeluarkan segala pakaian akan menganugerahi

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persalin kain yang indah-indah akan mamak-nya dan abang-nya dan segala hulubalang-nya.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun memakai-lah ia, pertama ber-kain sutera nipis kuning *ليا بين ٢* berpuncha warna murup bertepi emas di-pahat bersiratkan emas *دكارا* berambu ber-dani *بندی* bergiring-giring di-puncha-nya dan berbaju sinar mata hari, berkanching *میک برترافن* bepermata podi merah; dan bertengkolok warna China *کفلون* bertepi emas berper-mata bersirat berambukan mutiara; dan berkamar berkilat bahu; dan berpontoh bernaga tujuh belit; dan *برکرس* dengan mani-kam bersarongkan emas; dan menyandang pedang halilintar dan mengenakan *سشک نکس* berpermata dan menyangkutkan busar yang keemasan pada bahu-nya kiri.

Maka terlalu sa-kali hebat laku-nya dengan perkasa-nya, amat manis perkata'an-nya, sa-olah-olah rimau yang tiada berlawan laku-nya.' Lalu baginda berjalan di-iringkan segala hulubalang dan segala guru-nya di-hadapan-nya berjalan akan mengalahkan segala pendikar. Tiada bertara rupa busar-nya, gilang gemilang warna baju-nya kilau-kilauan, gemerengchang bunyi chanda-nya, bertatah rupa pendahan-nya. Maka penganjur-nya pun sampai-lah ka-pintu tani lalu masok ia ka-dalam pagar. Demi Sultan meli-hat orang banyak masok itu, maka sabda Sultan pun terkejut serta memanggil Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, 'Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap! Lihat apa-lah oleh-mu orang banyak masok itu.' Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun menyuroh lihat ka-pintu tani, maka di-lihat-nya penganjur-nya Tun Beraim Bapa. Maka di-persem-bahkan-nya kapada baginda, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, suatu pun tiada ada melainkan penganjur-nya paduka anakanda Tun Beraim Bapa jua ada masok.'

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun datang-lah kapintu tani lalu baginda bersabda kapada Perman Isap dua dengan Orang Tikar, 'Hai mamak-ku kedua pergi-lah kamu kedua kapada inang-ku Dara Zulaikha Tingkap yang bergelar Derma 'dikara suroh pohonkan akan daku kuda yang bergelar kuda semberani anak kuda Parsi itu.' Maka *فراسي* anak kuda semberani..... *فراسي* pergi-lah kedua merēka itu kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap kata-nya, 'Hai Tun Derma 'dikara persembahkan sembah paduka anakanda Tun Beraim Bapa ka-bawah duli shah alam anakanda mohonkan kuda semberani..... *فراسي*, anak kuda semberani..... *فراسي* Parsi'. Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun pergi-lah mengadap Sultan, seraya ia berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku

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shah alam, bahwa paduka anakanda Tun Beraim Bapa memohonkan kuda semberani..... *كلكلابو* *k.l.k k.labu* *فراسي* semberani..... *فراسي* anak kuda semberani..... *فراسي* itu.' Maka Sultan pun bersabda, 'Ayoh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap bukan kuda itu 'ku tahani karna kuda itu tiada pernah di-kendarai manusia, sebab kuda itu *gila*. Jikalau anak-ku Beraim Bapa hendak menaik kuda itu berikan-lah akan dia dengan kekengnya dan pelana-nya?

Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun menyuruh keluaran kuda itu dan di-berikan dengan kang-nya dan pelana-nya. Maka Perman Isap dua dengan Orang Tikar itu, maka kedua mereka itu pun bersegera keluar membawa kuda itu kapada Tun Beraim Bapa, maka Sultan pun berangkat-lah keluar ka-medan akan melihat Tun Beraim Bapa bermain-main itu. Maka di-lihat oleh Tun Beraim Bapa Sultan keluar itu. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun berdiri dengan *khidma*-nya di-hadapan Sultan itu lalu ia sujud. Maka Sultan pun bersabda kapada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti*, 'Katakan-lah kapada anak-ku si-Beraim Bapa, aku menyuruhkan ia menaik kuda itu di-hadapan jamu helat asing, tanil-nya lashkar pendikar Keling itu, suroh pachu kuda-nya itu ka-Tukas.' Maka Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti* pun menjunjungkan sabda yang maha mulia itu kapada Tun Beraim Bapa. 'Ya tuanku Tun Beraim Bapa, sabda paduka ayahanda naik-lah tuanku ka-atas kuda itu di-hadapan jamu orang helat asing lashkar pendikar Keling itu.'

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun menyembah Sultan, lalu baginda naik ka-atas kuda-nya. Maka di-pachu-nya lalu di-tarikan-nya di-medan. Maka ia pun *khidana* kapada Sultan, tatkala akan naik kuda itu, maka di-pachu-nya pula. Maka (kuda) itu pun bangkit lalu ka-udara. Maka di-pachu-nya pula lalu di-halakan-nya pula ka-Tukas. Maka dengan sa-ketika itu juga lenyap-lah daripada mata Sultan. Maka Sultan pun berbiji sabak, kata-nya 'Wah anak-ku lenyap-lah ia; di-mana kutaha engkau 'ku chari, kata-ku tiada di-turut-nya, karna kuda itu *gila* tiada pernah di-kendarai orang.' Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun tiba-tiba dengan as-sa'at itu juga Raiba ia di-hadapan Sultan itu serta bermain-mainkan kuda-nya, seperti merak mengigal laku-nya. Maka Sultan pun haibat melihat dia seperti gajah meta laku-nya.

Maka Sultan bersabda kapada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti* 'Katakan kapada anak-ku si-Beraim Bapa suroh ia ber-serama bermain-main di-hadapan jamu orang helat asing (tandil-nya) lashkar pendikar Keling itu dan suroh mengapuskan kemaluan-ku.' Maka Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti* pun pergi-

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lah menjunjung sabda yang maha mulia itu kepada Tun Beraim Bapa. Maka kata orang kedua itu, Sabda shah alam tuanku bermain-main dan berserama di-hadapan jamu orang helat asing lashkar pendikar Keling itu.' Maka sabda Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Jikalau demikian sabda shah alam kita pohonkan-lah sa-bilah pedang dan sa-buah perisai.' Maka pergi-lah merêka itu berdua berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuan-ku shah alam, bahwa sembah paduka anakanda memohonkan sa-bilah pedang dan sa-buah perisai.' Maka sabda Sultan Ahmad kepada kedua merêka itu, 'Pergi-lah kamu kedua ambil segala pedang dan segala perisai bawa ka-mari yang mana berkenan pada hati anak-ku, di-ambil-nya sa-bilah pedang dan sa-buah perisai.' Maka kedua merêka itu pun segera-lah pergi mengambil sakalian pedang dan sakalian perisai, lalu di-bawa-nya ka-hadapan Sultan. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun menyembah Sultan lalu ia memilêh segala pedang dan segala perisai itu. Maka di-ambil-nya sa-bilah pedang yang terbesar daripada lain-nya dan sa-buah perisai yang terbesar daripada lain-nya. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun sujud kepada Sultan lalu baginda turun ka-tanah serta menyēngsēngkan kain-nya serta memegang ulu pedang-nya dengan tangan-nya kanan dan menyelak perisai-nya dengan tangan-nya kiri.

Maka lalu genderang serama pun di-palu orang dengan serunai serama terlalu gemuroh bunyi-nya, maka baginda برتحوان dengan sa-orang guru-nya pahlawan Kampong Bedil, انيام nama serama-nya. Maka baginda berbahasa pula ia dengan sa-orang guru-nya pendikar Ali Pulau Kukur seraya baginda berserama Puspā Ragam nama serama-nya kemanis-manisan. Maka baginda berbahasa pula kepada sa-orang guru-nya pahlawan Kampong Bangka. Maka di-lotarkan-nya kelambir kotai lalu di-parang-nya olêh Tun Beraim Bapa penggal dua kelambir itu sa-belah ghaib tiada kelihatan, dan sa-belah terhantar di-bumi penoh dengan ayêr-nya. Maka berbahasa pula baginda dengan guru-nya pahlawan Kampong Langgar, maka di-lotarkan-nya sa-buah pinang kotai. Maka di-parang-nya olêh Tun Beraim Bapa penggal dua sa-belah ghaib tiada kelihatan dan sa-belah terhantar di-bumi. Maka berbahasa pula baginda dengan guru-nya pendikar Ali Kampong China. Maka di-hunjamkan-nya sa-pohon pinang; maka lalu di-panchong-nya olêh Tun Beraim Bapa dari atas puchok-nya lalu ka-bawah tiada rebah. Maka tatkala di-tiup angin, maka rebah-lah pohon pinang itu penggal empat.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun melompat ka-kanan sa-kali dan ka-kiri sa-kali serta دکر تشکنش perisai itu, lalu ghaib tiada kelihatan kiam.n-nya pada tangan-nya kiri. Maka pedang itu pun di-ketarkan-nya lalu ghaib mata-nya tinggal ulu-nya pada tangan-

nya kanan. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun lalu sujud menyembah Sultan Ahmad dan segala guru-nya pun sujud menyembah Sultan Ahmad. Sa-telah di-lihat olèh segala pendikar Keling perkasa-nya Tun Beraim Bapa itu semua-nya amat *dahaha* dan *hairan* dan gementar dagu-nya seperti ayam takutkan helang, demikian-lah laku-nya. Maka segala pendikar Keling itu berkata sama sendiri-nya. 'Sa-umur kita ini بلقي kita melihat sikap manusia seperti kelakuan Tun Beraim Bapa ini; jangankan kita melawan dia, memandang mata-nya pun takut rasa-nya.'

Maka sabda Sultan, 'Hai segala kamu pendikar Keling, lawan-lah olèhmu hulubalang-ku ini dan pendikar-ku ini.' Maka segala pendikar Keling itu pun berdiam diri-nya, lalu-lah ia kembali ka-kapal-nya dengan malu-nya menundok kepala-nya, lalu-lah ia belayar. Maka Sultan pun bersabda kapada Tuan Beraim Bapa, 'Hai nyawa bapa dan चाहया mata bapa. Bawa-lah olèh-mu orang di-ulu sungai itu serta-mu.' Maka Sultan pun berangkat-lah ka-istana-nya. Maka Tun Beraim pun kembali-lah membawa orang ulu sungai itu dengan segala guru-nya dan mamak-nya dan segala abang-nya itu ka-Tukas dengan senda gurau-nya dan di-perjamu-nya makan minum sakalian merèka itu. Sa-telah itu, maka sakalian merèka itu pun bermohon-lah menyembah kapada Tun Beraim Bapa masing-masing kembali kapada tempat-nya.

Hatta beberapa lama-nya antara-nya, maka pada suatu hari jumaat, maka Tun Beraim pun pergi bermin-main ka-Pasai, lalu masok ia ka-dalam pagar Sultan, maka naik-lah ia ka-lepau yaani selasar istana, maka di-lihat-nya Tun Fatimah Lempau bergelar Temian Layergan dudok ia mengarang bunga dengan Dara Zulaikhan. Bahwa ia gundek Sultan Ahmad, maka Tun Beraim Bapa bertanya, 'Hai ibu-ku Tun Fatimah Lempau, bunga akan siapa di-karang ibu-ku itu.' Maka sahut-nya akan Tun Beraim Bapa 'Ka-masjid.' Sa-telah Tun Beraim Bapa menengar kata-nya demikian itu, maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun dudok-lah bersandar pada tiang *d.lkh.na* itu. Sa-telah sudah di-karang-nya, maka Tun Fatimah pun lalu berdiri serta ia melompat melarikan bunga itu ka-dalam istana. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun marah lalu di-ikut-nya hendak di-tangkap-nya lalu tertangkap puncha kain-nya. Maka terdempok bahu Tun Beraim Bapa pada pintu istana itu, maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun undur-lah.

Maka Sultan pun terkejut daripada tidur pada peraduan-nya (Ada pun besar istana itu sembilan-belas ruang dan besar tiang-nya sa-pondakap) bergerak seperti gerak gempa; maka Sultan pun memanggil Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, 'Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, apa mula-nya maka bergerak istana ini, gempa-kah siapa tahu

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ini?' Maka Zulaikha pun keluar maka di-lihat-nya Tun Beraim Bapa hendak menangkap Tun Fatimah Lempau; maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun masok-lah mengadap serta ia ber-datang sembar, 'Ya-tuanku shah alam, suatu pun tiada ada melainkan paduka anakanda Tun Beraim Bapa bersenda bergurau dengan Tun Fatimah Lempau; maka Tun Beraim terdempok bahu paduka anakanda pada pintu istana ini.'

Maka Sultan pun terlalu marah serta bersabda kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap,

'Ayohai, Dara Zulaikha Tingkap!  
Bergelar Tun Derma 'dikara.  
Asal-mu orang terjunan  
Nasab-mu daripada pangliran,  
Jana-bejana dari Sungai Rahat!  
Karna engkau penghulu gundek-ku dalam istana.

Ini rahsia-ku kapada-mu jangan engkau katakan kapada sa-sa-orang jua pun. Jikalau si-Beraim Bapa jika tiada 'ku bunoh keraja'an-ku jangan kekal, bau shurga pun jangan 'ku chium.'

Maka Sultan Ahmad pun fikir-lah ia saketika itu 'Betapa peri-ku bichara hendak membunoh dia ini? Baik-lah ia 'ku bawa ka-hulu sungai, ketika itu-lah 'ku suroh bunoh.' Sa-telah sudah, maka Sultan pun bersabda kapada Bermamat P.nti dan Maidana P.nti, Pergi-lah kamu kedua panggikan aku Tun Perpatêh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara dan Bapa Mentuah dan segala hulubalang-ku.' Maka Bermamat P.nti dan Maidana P.nti pun pergi-lah memanggil segala merêka itu; sa-telah datang-lah sakalian merêka itu ka-hadapan Sultan Ahmad, maka sabda Sultan kapada segala hulubalang dan segala menteri, 'Hai segala kamu tuan-tuan mari-lah kita pergi bermain-main ka-hulu sungai, hendak beramai-ramaian memakan rama-rama برسيل dan memakan ketam berdayong dan hendak makan udang bersanggul dan makan لمبدق mengidam dan makan patin bertelur.' Maka di-suroh Sultan berlengkap sakalian merêka itu akan mengiring itu.

Maka Sultan pun berabda kapada segala hulubalang-nya, 'Siapa baik kita tinggalkan mengawan Pasai ini.' Maka sembah Baba Mentuah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, yang baik bichara yang di-perhamba di-tinggalkan, baik-lah paduka anakanda Tun Beraim Bapa karna ia pahlawan.' Maka demi Sultan menengar sembah-nya itu, maka Sultan pun bersabda, 'Karna si-Beraim Bapa tiada dapat kita tinggalkan siapa kutaha mencharikan kita ikan dan menjala.' Maka sembah Malik Sulaiman Dendang Ayêr, 'Ya

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tuanku shah alam, jikalau sembah yang di-perhamba di-perkenankan baik-lah Tun Abu'l-Fazil di-tinggalkan mengawani Pasai ini.' Maka bersabda pula baginda, 'Karna Abu'l-Fazil tiada dapat bercherai dengan kita.' Maka Tun Perpatēh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara pun berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, baik-lah pada bichara yang di-perhamba Tun Abdul Jalil di-tinggalkan, karna paduka anakanda itu teramat baik rupa-nya. Jika ia memakai chara Jawa sa-rupa Jawa dan jika ia memakai chara China sa-rupa China dan jika ia memakai chara Siam sa-rupa Siam dan jika ia memakai chara Arab sa-rupa Arab.' Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bersabda, 'Baik-lah si-Abdul Jalil kita tinggalkan.'

Maka Sabda Sultan kepada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti*, 'Pergi-lah kamu kedua ka-Tukas beri tahu si-Beraim Bapa, bahwa aku hendak makan rama-rama برسيل dan memakan ketam berdayong dan hendak memakan udang bersanggul dan makan لبدق mengidam dan makan patin bertelur. Maka pergi-lah kamu kedua ka-Tukas kepada Tun Beraim Bapa, maka tatkala sampai-lah ia ka-Tukas, maka kata-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, karna paduka ayahanda Sultan hendak pergi bermain-main ka-ulu sungai ka-Lubok Tura hendak makan rama-rama bersil dan memakan ketam berdayong dan hendak memakan udang bersanggul dan makan l.mb.d.k mengidam dan makan patin bertelur, segera-lah tuanku mengiringkan paduka ayahanda ka-ulu sungai.' Maka Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti* bermohon menyembah baginda, lalu ia kembali mengadap Sultan serta bersembahkan sembah Tun Beraim Bapa itu.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa itu pun bersabda kepada *Prman*. *Is.p* dan Orang Tika itu, 'Ayohai mamak-ku kedua, pergi-lah kamu kedua kepada tuan-tuan yang di-ulu sungai itu, suruhkan sakalian merēka itu menebas segala jalan dan hutan yang di-tepi sungai itu, karna paduka Sultan itu hendak berangkat ka-ulu sungai bermain-main ka-Lubok Tura dan lalu kamu ka-Belatap kepada Malim Zainal Belatap dan Malim Pagar Sesah, dan lalu ka-kampong kepada Si-Ali Kechil Pahat Putar dan kepada Si-Bintang Timur dan kepada Si-Akap Gagah Mengangkat. Surohlah ia menanti daku di-pantai Manggang itu.' Maka *Prman*. *Is.p* dan Orang Tika itu menyembah lalu ia pergi kedua-nya ka-ulu sungai kepada segala merēka itu memberi tahu akan Sultan berangkat bermain-main itu.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun naik-lah baginda bertangisan dengan segala isi rumah-nya. Sa-telah itu, maka lalu-lah ia ka-pekan, maka baginda berdiri-diri di-pekan; maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Ayohai segala kamu orang pekan tiada-lah siapa

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meruah kamu lagi dan bersenda bergurau dengan tuan-tuan sakalian karna aku ini hendak mengiringkan Sultan ka-ulu sungai, lalu ka-Bukit *Fadlu 'llah* entah kembali entah tiada.' Maka sembah segala orang pekan itu, 'Ya tuanku Tun Beraim Bapa musoh dari-mana dan seteru dari-mana akan tuanku, maka tuanku bersabda demikian? Jikalau patah-lah tulang kami sakalian hamba tuanku yang dalam negeri Tukas ini, maka dapat orang buat sa-kehendak-nya.' Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Diam-lah tuan-tuan sakalian, karna Si-Beraim Bapa sa-kali-kali tiada ia mahu derhaka, jika Beraim Bapa mahu derhaka jika Pasai sa-Pasai-nya, jika Jawa sa-Jawa-nya, jika China sa-China-nya, jika Siam sa-Siam-nya, jika Keling sa-Keling-nya, tiada dapat melawan si-Beraim Bapa. Jika tiada aku keraja'an di-dunia ini, di-akhirat pun aku peruleh juga.'

Maka baginda bertemu dengan Malik Sulaiman Dendang Ayer; maka berkata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Ayoh mamak-ku Malik Sulaiman Dendang Ayēr, tiada-lah siapa bersenda bergurau dengan tuan hamba, karna hamba hendak ka-ulu sungai ka-Bukit *Fadlu 'llah* entah kembali entah tiada.' Maka Malik Sulaiman pun lalu bertangis-tangisan kedua-nya. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun lalu kembali pula ka-rumah-nya bertangis-tangisan dan segala isi rumah-nya dan hamba sahaya-nya.

Maka Paduka Sultan pun berangkat-lah seperti adat segala raja-raja bermain-main. Maka sabda baginda kapada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti*, 'Pergi-lah engkau dedua kapada Si-Beraim Bapa katakan aku sudah mudék.' Maka baginda pun mudék membawa segala perempuan-nya dan segala gundek-nya dan segala dayang-dayang-nya. Maka Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti* pun pergi-lah kapada Tun Beraim Bapa itu. Sa-telah itu, maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun turun-lah serta membawa kedua saudara-nya itu, lalu ia berjalan-lah dari pekan. Maka sabda Tun Beraim, 'Ayohai segala tuan-tuan orang pekan, tinggal-lah tuan-tuan sakalian. Bahawa aku mudék-lah mengiringkan Sultan ka-ulu sungai ka-bukit *Fadlu 'llah* entah kembali entah tiada.' Maka sakalian orang pekan pun menangis berhamburan ayēr mata-nya sakalian merēka itu, serta ia minta doa akan Tun Beraim Bapa. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa sampai-lah ka-simpang, maka naik-lah ia atas perahu. Lalu dudok baginda di-buritan menarek pengayoh-nya yang lebar-nya tiga hasta dan besar batang-nya tiga jengkal, lilit dan panjang-nya tujuh hasta. Maka sa-kali di-kayoh-nya sarantau laju-nya. Maka ada sa-orang hulubalang-nya membawa payong-nya, berjalan ia di-dalam ayer tiada ia tinggal demikian lah perkasa-nya.

Maka Paduka Sultan pun sampai-lah ka-Lubok Sanggong.

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Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bersabda ka-pada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti*. 'Surohkan oléh-mu anak-ku Si-Beraim Bapa men-jala.' Maka pergi-lah merêka itu kedua menyurohkan Tun Beraim Bapa menjala; maka baginda pun menjala-lah dalam Luboh Sang-gong itu; maka tatkala sudah di-hambur-nya jala-nya, maka Tun Beraim Bapa lalu menyelam dia: maka tatkala di-lihat Paduka Sultan ia menyelam itu, maka baginda pun memberi ishara kepada segala hulubalang-nya menantikan ia timbul, serta sakalian merêka itu menghunus segala pedang-nya dan segala pendahan-nya daripada sarong-nya hendak menetak dan menikam Tun Beraim Bapa itu. Maka ia berjalan di-dalam ayêr itu sa-kira-kira sa-ran-tau jauh-nya; maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun bangkit ia, lalu naik ia ka-darat.

Maka tatkala di-lihat Sultan dan hulubalang-nya hal yang demikian itu; maka sakalian merêka itu pun dahsha ketakutan serta dengan puchat muka-nya masing-masing menyarongkan pedang-nya dan pendahan-nya. Maka Sultan pun mudêk-lah ka-ulu sungai pula. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa menjala pula ia, maka di-peruleh-nya ikan terlalu banyak dan rama-rama bersil. (برسيل) dan ketam berdayong dan udang bersanggul dan l.mb.d.k (لمبدق) mengidam dan patin bertelur. Maka di-suroh-nya persembahkan kepada Sultan Ahmad.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun mudêk-lah, ia, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Pantai Manggang. Maka segala hulubalang Tun Beraim Bapa pun hadir-lah ia menantikan Tun Beraim Bapa di-pantai itu. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun dudok-lah ia di-haluan perahu-nya mengurai jala-nya. Maka baginda pun bersabda kepada sakalian hulubalang-nya, 'Ayohai' segala tuan-tuan dengan siapa lagi tuan-tuan bersenda bergurau, karna hamba hendak ka-ulu sungai ini ka-Bukit *Fadlu'llah* entah kembali entah tiada hamba lagi.' Maka sakalian merêka itu pun berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku, mengapa-kah tuanku maka bertitah yang demikian, hingga patah-lah tulang bahu patek sakalian ini, maka dapat-lah orang berbuat sa-kehendak-nya ka-atas tuanku.' Maka sabda Tun Beraim, 'Ayohai segala handai taulan-ku, diam-lah kamu sakalian, karna hamba tiada mahu derhaka, jika hamba mahu derhaka, jika Pasai sa-Pasai-nya, jika Siam sa-Siam-nya, jika China sa-China-nya jika Jawa sa-Jawa-nya jika Keling sa-Keling-nya tiada dapat melawan aku.'

Maka berdatang sembah si-Pahat Putar dan si-Bintang Timur dan Si-Akap Gagah Mengangkat dan Malim Zainal dan malim Pagar Sesah, 'Ya tuanku mengapa kata tuanku demikian itu.' Maka baginda bersabda pula, 'Diam-lah kamu, jika tiada aku

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keraja'an di-dunia insha'a 'llah ta'ala aku keraja'n di-akhira nesch-aya aku perulêh juga.'

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa menyuoh si-Ali Kechil Pahat Putar dengan malim Zainal Belatap, 'Hai mamak-ku kedua berp.nch.ng apa-lah mamak-ku kedua 'ku lihat sa-ketika.' Maka kedua merêka itu pun sama-lah berjawab tangan lalu merêka itu tangkap, berhêla-hêla'an kedua-nya, maka tertanam hingga lutut-nya kedua merêka itu. Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Sama juga kuat kedua mamak-ku ini.' Maka sembah si-Pahat Putar, 'Ya tuanku jika hamba tiada takut akan nama derhaka tuanku pun dapat hamba lawan.' Maka baginda pun tersenyum mendengar kata si-Ali Kechil Pahat Putar itu; maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun mengantarkan jala-nya di-letakkan-nya, lalu baginda turun ka-pantai itu. Maka dudok baginda berlunjur maka di-suroh-nya si-Pahat Putar mengangkat kaki Tun Beraim Bapa, maka di-angkat-nya kaki Tun Beraim Bapa itu, jangankan terangkat bergerak pun tiada, maka di-sunggo-sunggohi dengan sa-kuat-kuat-nya di-ongkat-nya dan daripada sa-puloh anak jari-nya titek darah sa-puloh titek. Maka di-gerak-nya oleh Tun Beraim Bapa kaki-nya, maka terpelanting-lah Pahat Putar itu seperti daun kayu di-tiupkan angin pulang paling; maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun tersenyum lalu baginda naik ka-atas perahu.

Maka Sultan Ahmad pun sampai-lah ka-Tanjong Ara; maka terlanggar-lah perahu baginda itu dan perahu segala hulubalang-nya atas batang yang di-Tanjong Ara itu. Maka di-suroh baginda bongkar pada segala hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat-nya, maka tiada-lah dapat di-bongkar. Maka di-suroh baginda pada gajah yang bergelar Dola Laut dan Chermin China dan Raja Beruang dan Raja Tangkas Biram Pasai dan Sampurna Derma Utama dan Seri Negeri dan Arak Api dan lain daripada itu pun semuanya itu tiada jua ia patah.

Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bersabda kapada Bermamat P.nti dan Maidana P.nti, 'Pergi-lah kamu kedua panggilkkan anak-ku Tun Beraim Bapa.' Maka pergi-lah kedua merêka itu; sa-telah sampai kedua-nya serta ia berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku Tun Beraim Bapa Paduka Sultan menyuroh memanggil tuanku karna perahu paduka Sultan terlanggar ka-atas batang di-Tanjong Ara itu. Maka di-suroh bongkar pada segala hulubalang dan segala rayat dan segala gajah yang bergelar-gelar tiada jua ia terbongkar melainkan segera-lah tuanku pergi.'

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun hendak pergi ka-Tanjong Ara, maka si-Ali Kechil Pahat Putar dan si-Bintang Timur dan si-Akap Gagah Mengangkat dan Malim Zainal Belatap dan Malim Pagar

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Sesah berdatang sembah sakaian merēka itu, 'Ya tuanku Tun Beraim Bapa karna nasi hamba-mu sudah termasak dan segala ayam hamba-mu sudah tersemebelah singgah apa-lah tuanku sa- ketika jua.' Maka sahut-nya Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Hai segala tuan hamba handai taulan-ku, melainkan maaf tuan-tuan sakalian-lah akan hamba karna nasi gulai tuan-tuan itu sa-rasa sudah di-dalam perut hamba, karna hamba ini segera di-panggil Paduka Sultan.'

Maka ia pun lalu-lah berjalan. Sa-telah sampai ia ka-Tan-jong Ara; maka demi di-lihat olēh Sultan Ahmad akan anakanda datang, maka sabda baginda, 'Hai anak-ku lihat-lah olēh-mu perahu-ku dan perahu segala hulubalang terlanggar di-atas batang ini; apa bichara anak-ku akan batang ini?' Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun sujud serta menyembah; maka lalu pergi ia kapada batang itu, serta ia meraba daripada pohon-nya lalu ka-ujung-nya. Maka di-gerak-gerak-nya serta baginda berkata, 'Hai kamu hulubalang-ku jabatkan olēh-mu perahu paduka Sultan itu.' Maka baginda pun lalu menyelam batang itu, maka di-raba-nya dari pohon-nya lalu ka-ujung-nya, maka di-hunus-nya khanjar-nya, maka di-kerat-nya batang itu lalu putus; maka di-terajangkan-nya, maka batang itu pun penggal dua, sa-penggal terpelanting ka-ulu sa-kira-kira dua rantau jauh-nya, maka hanyut-lah sakalian perahu itu timpa menimpa ada yang karam, ada yang berdempok ada yang bedempok ada yang termasok ka-dalam hutan, olēh karna patah batang itu di-timpa ayēr deras lagi dengan berk.mp.ng (بركمنغ), maka perahu Sultan pun hanyut sa-kira-kira sa-rantau jauh-nya.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun menyelam pula sakali lagi, lama ia dalam ayēr. Maka Sultan pun pura-pura menangis demikian bunyi tangis-nya, 'Wah anak-ku Tun Beraim Bapa lenyap-lah kutaha engkau atau di-timpa batang-kah kutaha engkau? Wah chahaya mata-ku dan buah hati-ku di-mana kutaha engkau sekarang dan apa kutaha hal-mu?' Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun seraya baginda menyelam itu, lalu ia mudeh ka-ulu serta membawa batang yang sa-kerat itu kira-kira lima rantau jauh-nya, maka naik-lah ia ka-darat serta ia memegang batang itu, lalu di-hunjamkan-nya di-pantai itu, termasok ka-dalam tanah kira-kira empat depa. Maka baginda pun dudok di-atas batang itu dengan mengurai-ngurai rambut-nya dan memetek-metek changgai-nya.

Maka Sultan pun hilir-lah, maka segala dayang-dayang dan inangda-nya dan kakanda-nya embuai tuan Tun Beraim Bapa pun menangis serta menarerk-narek rambut-nya dan berbiji sabak, demikian bunyi-nya, 'Wah tuanku Tun Beraim Bapa lenyap-lah

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kutaha tuanku.' Maka ada so-orang orang berjalan dari ulu sungai itu, maka di-lihat-nya Tun Beraim Bapa dudok di-atas batang itu, maka tatkala sampai-lah ia kapada tempat segala orang menangis itu, maka kata-nya, 'Mengapa maka tuan<sup>2</sup> menangis ini.' Maka (kata) merêka itu, 'Tuan kami Tun Beraim Bapa lenyap atau mati tiada kami ketahui.' Maka kata orang itu 'Ada pun Tun Beraim Bapa ada hamba lihat dudok ia pada suatu pantai di-ulu sungai mengurai-urai rambut-nya dan memetek-metek changgai-nya.' Maka sakalian merêka itu pun berlarian-lah ka-ulu sungai mendapatkan baginda.

Maka di-persembahkan orang-lah kapada Sultan akan Tun Beraim Bapa itu ada lagi hidup. Maka Sultan pun bersabda kapada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti* 'Pergi-lah kamu kedua panggil orang Seri.' Maka pergi-lah kedua merêka itu memanggil orang Seri; maka ia pun datang. Maka sabda Sultan kapada merêka itu, 'Hai kamu orang Seri perbuatkan aku ubat hangat karna anak-ku si-Beraim Bapa ia menyelam kalau-kalau ia dingin.' Maka orang Seri pun berbuat peniaram (فيارم). Maka di-buboh-nya dalam peniaram itu rachun. Sa-telah sudah di-perbuat-nya, maka di-persembahkan-nya kapada Sultan. Maka di-suroh Sultan bawa kapada Bermamat *P.nti* dan Maidana *P.nti*. Maka sabda baginda, 'Pergi-lah kamu hantarkan ubat hangat ini kapada anak-ku karna ia dingin bekas menyelam itu.' Maka pergi-lah kedua merêka itu menghantar-kan ubat hangat itu. Apabila sampai-lah kedua merêka itu kapada Tun Beraim Bapa serta kata-nya. 'Ini-lah ayapan daripada paduka ayahanda ubat hangat karna tuanku dingin bekas menyelam.'

Maka Tun Beraim pun tahu-lah akan rachun itu, maka di-ambil-nya peniaram itu sa-biji di-belah-nya dua sa-belah di-lontarkan-nya pada anjing. Maka di-makan-nya olêh anjing itu; maka sa-ketika itu jua ia mati; dan yang sa-belah itu di-lotarkan pula kapada ayam, maka ayam itu pun mati jua. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun fikir di-dalam hati-nya, 'Jikalau 'ku makan makanan ini, neschaya mati-lah aku jikalau tiada 'ku makan neschaya derhaka-lah aku, tetapi baik-lah aku mati daripada nama derhaka.' Maka di-ambil-nya peniaram itu sa-biji lagi, maka hendak di-makan-nya, maka tatkala itu di-lihat olêh Tun M.d.m Peria hal yang demikian itu; maka di-perebut-nya daripada tangan saudara-nya lalu di-makan-nya. Maka ia pun lalu mati-lah, maka di-ambil-nya sa-biji lagi, maka di-perebut olêh saudara-nya bernama Tun Takiah Dara lalu di-makan-nya, maka ia pun lalu mati, maka di-suroh Tun Beraim Bapa ka-Bukit *Fadlu* 'ilah di-suroh-nya tanamkan di-sana.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun mengambil peniaram itu, lalu di-

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makan-nya yang tinggal daripada di-makan olēh saudara-nya itu. Sa-telah itu maka bius rachun itu pun menyelap-nyelap. Maka segala tuboh-nya itu pun gatal-lah, maka di-suroh baginda garu kapada mamak-nya Perman Isap dengan (Orang) Tikar. Maka di-garu merēka itu belakang Tun Beraim Bapa. Maka sakalian kuku merēka itu habis-lah tanggal, maka kedua-nya pun lalu mati-lah ia, maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun tiada-lah lagi menderita daripada kesangat-nya gatal (itu). Maka pergi ia kapada sa-pohon kular. Maka di-sentalkan-nya belakang-nya kapada pohon kular itu. Maka pohon kular itu pun habis tanggal segala kulit-nya dan habis luroh segala daun-nya. Maka pohon kular itu pun dengan sa-ketika itu juga mati.

Maka ia bersabda kapada Malik Akasan, 'Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan, di-mana ada lubok yang dalam?' Maka sembah 'Ya tuanku ada hamba menengar khabar segala orang tua-tua ada suatu lubok, Tura nama-nya, terlalu amat dalam dan luas-nya sa-kira-kira sa-kuncha beneh.' Maka sabda Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Hai mamak-ku bawa-lah hamba pergi ka-sana.' Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun berjalan-lah ka-Lubok Tura itu; sa-telah baginda sampai ka-sana, maka kata-nya, 'Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan hambur-lah olēh hamba jala itu.' Maka Malik Akasan pun menghambur jala itu; maka jala itu pun berpintal-pintal masuk ka-dalam Lubok Tura itu. Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Betapa peri mamak-ku mengambil jala itu? Tiada dapat di-hela-nya karna jala itu sudah tertangkap pada tandok ular *l.m.b.*' Maka Malik Akasan pun hendak menyelam jala itu, maka di-lihat-nya dalam lubok itu mērah seperti api yang nyala, maka segera ia timbul lalu ka-darat. Maka kata-nya, 'Ya tuanku ada-lah dalam lubok ini mērah seperti api bernyala-nyala,' kata-nya itu.

Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Ambilkan-lah hamba rotan barang sa-galang.' Sa-telah itu, maka ia pun bersikap berjawat tangkal dan rotan itu pun di-ikatkan-nya pada pinggang-nya, lalu-lah ia menyelam; maka di-tangkap-nya-lah ikan yang di-lubok itu yang kena jala itu, terlalu banyak di-perolēh-nya. Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun timbul, serta melotarkan segala ikan itu, dengan chuchok-nya ka-darat. Maka baginda menyelam pula ia, maka bertemu-lah ia dengan ular *l.m.b.* itu lalu di-tangkap-nya akan Tun Beraim Bapa lalu baginda bergomol-gomol dengan ular *l.m.b.* itu. Lalu di-tangkap pula olēh Tun Beraim Bapa akan ular *l.m.b.* itu, maka ayēr dalam lubok itu pun berombak-ombak seperti ombak di-lautan demikian-lah hal-nya. Maka di-lihat olēh inangda-nya dan kakanda-nya dan embuai tuan-nya akan Tun Beraim Bapa hal-nya yang demikian itu, kata-nya, 'Wah tuanku Tun Beraim Bapa mati-lah kutaha di-makan ular *l.m.b.* itu.'

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Maka Tun Beraim Bapa menghunus khanjar-nya; lalu di-sembelih-nya ular *l.m.b.* itu. Sa-telah mati-lah ular *l.m.b.* itu, maka di-belah-nya perut-nya. Maka segala perut-nya dan hati-nya dan lempa-nya sakalian habis timbul-lah ia. Maka di-kerat-kerat-nya ular *l.m.b.* itu di-chuchok-nya dengan rotan, lalu timbul-lah baginda serta di-lotarkan-nya segala daging ular *l.m.b.* itu ka-darat, maka baginda pun naik-lah, maka di-suroh-nya tunu daging ular *l.m.b.* itu. Maka segala manusia yang menchiium bau asap-nya itu sakalian habis mati daripada tersangatan bisa-nya ular *l.m.b.* itu. Maka segala daging ular itu di-makan-nya olèh Tun Beraim Bapa.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun daif-lah rasa-nya. Maka segala ikan itu sakalian di-suroh-nya persembahkan kepada Sultan Ahmad dan di-suroh-nya tanyakan di-mana baginda di-tanamkan olèh orang akan dia. Maka pergi-lah orang yang di-suroh-nya dengan membawa ikan itu. Sa-telah sampai-lah orang itu kepada Sultan, maka di-persembahkan-nya-lah itu. Maka sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku sembah-nya Tun Beraim Bapa, jika ia mati di-mana di-tanamkan akan dia.' Maka sabda Sultan, 'Di-sana-lah ia kamu tanamkan, karna di-Pasai pun bumi Allah, di-sana pun bumi Allah jua.' Maka ia menyembah lalu ia pergi kembali kepada Tun Beraim Bapa. Maka apabila sampai-lah ia, maka sabda Sultan semua-nya di-sampaikan-nya kepada Tun Beraim Bapa. (Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa) kepada Malik Akasan, 'Ayohai mamak-ku bawa-lah aku ka-Bukit *Fadlu 'llah.*'

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun berjalan-lah serta mamak-ku dengan segala keluarga-nya. Maka apabila sampai-lah baginda kepada sempang jalan, maka kata Malik Akasan, 'Ya tuanku, bah-wa jalan ini dua sempang-nya suatu sempang ini dua hari perjalanan, dan suatu sempang ini sa-hari perjalanan sampai-lah kita ka-Bukit *Fadlu 'llah.* Tetapi ada pohon sabasani, seperti rupa ular; barang siapa melihat dia terkejut terketar-ketar rebah lalu mati. Lepas dari sana, maka bertemu pula dengan sa-pohon beluru rupa-nya seperti rupa *sag. bersi.k.* Maka barang siapa melihat dia terkejut rebah ia lalu mati.' Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa 'Hai mamak-ku bawa-lah hamba ka-sana pada jalan yang hampir itu.'

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun lalu-lah ka-sana, maka ia ber-temu-lah dengan pohon sabasani itu. Demi terlihat olèh Tun Beraim Bapa, maka ia pun terkejut serta ia menghunus khanjar-nya, lalu di-tetak-nya pohon sabasani itu. Maka ia pun meng-herip seperti suara manusia dan mengalir darah-nya seperti darah manusia. Maka lalu-lah ia berjalan dari sana maka bertemu-lah pula dengan akar beluru. Demi terlihat olèh Tun Beraim Bapa lalu baginda terkejut serta ia mengambil pendahan-nya lalu di-

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tikam-nya akar beluru itu. Maka akar pohon beluru itu pun mengherip seperti gajah menderum dan mengalir darah-nya seperti darah manusia.

Maka Tun Beraim Bapa itu pun lalu-lah dari sana makin sangat-lah *daif*-nya. Maka kata Tun Beraim Bapa, 'Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan dukong-lah hamba tiada-lah lagi dapat hamba berjalan.' Maka Tun Beraim Bapa pun di-dukong oleh Malik Akasan. Maka apabila sampai-lah kapada suatu tempat, maka ia pun tiada-lah menderita lagi, maka di-suroh-nya hantarkan dirinya ka-tanah. Maka di-ambil-nya lembing-nya, lalu di-lotarkan-nya. Maka kata-nya, 'Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan, jika si-Beraim Bapa mahu derhaka, jika Pasai sa-Pasai-nya, jika Siam sa-Siam-nya, jika Keling sa-Keling-nya, tiada mahu melawan si-Beraim Bapa karna sakali kali si-Beraim Bapa tiada mahu derhaka. Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan dimana tempat lembing hamba itu jatoh di-sana-lah hamba tanamkan.'

Maka lembing itu pun jatoh-lah ka Bukit *Fadlu'llah*. Maka sa-ketika lagi Tun Beraim Bapa pun kembali-lah ka *rahmatu'llah ta'ala*. Maka Malik Akasan-lah membawa mayyit baginda dengan segala handai taulan-nya ka-Bukit *Fadlu'llah* itu, seperti membawa mayyit sa-orang *faqir* jua. Maka tatkala sampai-lah ka-Bukit *Fadlu'llah* itu, maka di-lihat orang lembing itu terhunjam antara selang saudara-nya yang kedua itu jua. Maka lembing itu termasuk ka-dalam tanah sa-kira-kira sa-hasta jua yang kelihatan. Ada pun besar batang lembing itu dua jengkat lilit dan lebar mata-nya sa-hasta dan panjang-nya sembilan hasta. Ada pun jauh-nya tempat menikamkan lembing itu kira-kira sa-tengah hari perjalanan. Sa-telah itu, maka di-tanamkan oleh Malik Akasan dengan sakalian orang yang beserta-nya itu pada tempat lembing-nya yang jatoh itu jua. Maka tatkala itu sampai-lah khabar baginda sudah mati. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun terlalu sukachita dan nyaman-lah hati-nya. Maka baginda pun kembali-lah ka-Pasai, hingga sampai-lah ia ka-istana-nya.

Kata yang empunya cherita, ada pun akan Tun Abdul Jalil tatkala ia tinggal menunggui negeri Pasai itu, maka di-suroh baginda *persik* ( *فرسيك* ) negeri dan segala pekan dan medan hingga di-suroh baginda tambak segala tanah yang lembang-lembang hingga rata-lah segala medan itu.

### Part 3

Al-kēsah, maka tersebut-lah perkataan tuan Puteri Gemerengchang anak Ratu Majapahit di-negeri Jawa, karna Tuan Puteri  
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itu tiada ia bersuami, sebab ia hendak bersuamikan daripada segala anak raja yang bijaksana dan yang perkasa. Maka Tuan Puteri itu menyuruhkan hulubalang-nya yang bernama Tun Perpatēh Jēna (جين) kapada segala negeri akan menuliskan rupa segala anak raja-raja yang pada segala negeri serta membawa kertas sa-peti dan dawat s.kuchi (سكوجي) dan kalam sa-berkas. Maka Tun Perpatēh Jēna pun berlengkap-lah ia dengan sa-buah perahu, lalu-lah ia berlayar daripada suatu negeri kapada suatu negeri serta ia menuliskan rupa anak raja-raja yang di-dalam negeri itu.

Sa-bermula yang sudah tertulis itu ada kira-kira sembilan-puluh sembilan orang yang sudah tertulis olēh Tun Perpatēh Jēna itu, hingga masuk-lah ia ka-negeri Pasai. Demi terlihat olēh-nya akan rupa Tun Abdul Jalil lalu di-tuliskan-nya rupa Tun Abdul Jalil. Maka jadi genap-lah sa-ratus orang dengan rupa Tun Abdul Jalil itu. Sa-telah itu, maka keluar-lah ia dari Pasai, lalu ia berlayar ka-negeri-nya.

Hatta beberapa lama antara-nya, maka sampai-lah ia ka-benua Jawa lalu ia masok mengadap Tuan Puteri Gemenchang serta membawa tulis rupa segala anak raja-raja itu; maka di-lihat olēh Tuan Puteri Gemenchang rupa segala anak raja-raja yang sembilan-puluh sembilan itu, sa-orang pun tiada berkenan pada hati-nya; maka demi terlihat kapada tulis rupa Tun Abdul Jalil itu, maka Tuan Puteri itu pun hairan ia melihat dia seraya ia bersabda kapada Tun Perpatēh Jēna, 'Rupa siapa ini dan apa nama-nya dan di-mana ber-tua-nya?' Maka Tun Perpatēh Jēna pun berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku ini-lah rupa Tun Abdul Jalil nama-nya anak raja di-benua Pasai.' Maka Tuan Puteri Gemenchang pun terlalu amat ia berahi akan dia, daripada sebab ia melihat rupa gambar-nya itu.

Maka Radin Galoh Gemenchang pun tiada-lagi tertahan hati-nya, seperti orang gila-lah laku-nya, maka minum pun tiada ia kenyang dan tiada puas dahaga-nya. Maka di-persembahkan olēh segala inangda-nya dan embuai tuan-nya kapada ayahanda dan bonda-nya akan hal ahual-nya Tuan Puteri gila itu sebab melihat tulis rupa Tun Abdul Jalil itu. Maka demi di-dengar olēh Sang Nata Majapahit dan Permaisuri akan hal anak-nya yang demikian itu, maka hairan-lah itu bonda-nya serta dengan mashghul-nya. Maka ayah bonda-nya pun panggil anak-nya Tuan Puteri Gemenchang itu, serta kata-nya, 'Hai anak-ku apa jua mashghul dalam hati-mu.' Maka Tuan Puteri Gemenchang pun berdatang sembah, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun mashghul yang di-datangkan Allah ta'ala ka-atas hati patēk itu mashghul yang amat sangat tiada-lah tersipatkan lagi ada-nya, karna rupa

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Tun Abdul Jalil anak raja benua Pasai itu pada hati hamba-mu tiada-lah dapat paték kelupai barang sa-ketika jua pun dan karam-lah rasa paték dalam-nya seperti kata shaer:  
 صبت علي مصائب علي الايام صرن لياليا Herti-nya telah di-datangkan atas-ku perchinta'an jikalau perchinta'an di-datangkan atas-ku segala hari ini seperti umpama sa-malam jua ada-nya.'

Demi Sang Nata menengar sembah paduka anakanda baginda Tuan Puteri Gemerenchang demikian itu, maka bertambah-tambah *mashghul*-nya serta membicharakan dalam hati-nya, 'Jikalau tiada 'ku pekenankan seperti kehendak-nya anak-ku ini, neschaya gila-lah ia dalam perchinta'an-nya.' Maka titah Sang Nata, 'Hai anak-ku sabar-lah engkau dahulu *insha 'llah ta'ala* aku-lah membicharakan segala pekerjaan-mu itu.' Maka Tuan Puteri pun berdatang sembah demikian bunyi-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam, tiada-lah kuasa paték menahan sabar. Jikalau ada sayang *shafa'a* duli shah alam akan paték, baik-lah hamba-mu di-suroh hantarkan ka-negeri Pasai itu dengan segera-nya. Jika tiada demikian itu, neschaya mati-lah paték dalam perchinta'an yang di-perhamba.'

Maka tatkala di-dengar ayahanda dan bonda baginda sembah Radin Galoh demikian itu, maka pada ketika itu jua baginda bertitah menyuroh *memusta 'iddkan* segala kelengkapan itu daripada *ghur.b* (غورب) dan kelulus dan daripada jong. Sa-telah sudah *musta 'idd-lah* segala kelengkapan itu, maka di-suroh baginda hias sa-buah *ghur.b* (غورب) yang besar akan kenaikan paduka anakanda Radin Galoh Gemerenchang itu. Maka daripada perhiasan yang indah-indah dan di-anugerahi baginda akan Tuan Puteri itu daripada beberapa segala perkakas alat kerajaan daripada segala pakaian yang indah-indah dan daripada segala hulubalang dan menteri dan rayat dan daripada beberapa emas dan perak dan permata yang indah-indah dan daripada pakaian yang berbagai-bagai rupa-nya.

Maka pada hari yang baik, maka Sang Nata pun berangkat-lah dengan segala hulubalang-nya dan segala bala tantera-nya akan menghantarkan paduka anakanda Tuan Puteri itu ka-tepi laut. Sa-telah itu sampai-lah baginda ka-tepi laut, maka Tuan Puteri pun *sujud* menyembah bermohon kapada ayah bonda-nya, maka oléh Sang Nata dan Permaisuri di-pelok-nya dan di-chium-nya lalu baginda bertangis-tangisan-lah. Maka Tuan Puteri pun naik-lah ka-atas *ghur.b* (غورب) yang di-hias itu serta dengan inangda-nya dan bonda-nya dan embuai tuan-nya. Maka segala hulubalang pun masing-masing naik-lah ka-perahu-nya, lalu-lah Tuan Puteri dan segala mereka itu belayar-lah ka-negeri Pasai itu pada siang dan malam.

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Ada pun di-cheterakan olèh orang yang empunya chetera. Maka tatkala terdengar-lah warta angkatan Radin Galoh Gemenenchang anak ratu Majapahit datang dari Jawa itu hendak kabenua Pasai, daripada sebab berahi akan Tun Abdul Jalil itu, setelah di-dengar olèh Sultan Ahmad, maka Sultan pun tiada-lah lagi qarar hati-nya daripada hendak membicharakan daya upaya membunuh Tun Abdul Jalil itu jua pada siang dan malam. Maka pada suatu hari Sultan Ahmad bersabda kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, "Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap! Amana-ku pada-mu hubaya-hubaya jangan engkau katakan pada sa-orang jua pun, jikalau Si-Abdul Jalil tiada 'ku bunoh kerajaan ku jangan kekal dan Puteri Gemenenchang pun jangan 'ku perulèh.' Sa-telah itu, maka di-chari-nya daya upaya hendak membunuh Tun Abdul Jalil. Pada suatu ketika, maka Tun Abdul Jalil di-suroh-nya bunoh. Maka di-bunoh orang-lah ia. Maka Tun Abdul Jalil pun pulang-lah ka-rahmatu 'llah ta'ala maka di-suroh Sultan buangkan mayyit baginda itu ka-laut ka-Jambu Ayèr.

Hatta beberapa lama antara-nya, maka kelengkapan Radin Galoh Gemenenchang pun datang-lah ka-laut Jambu Ayèr itu. Maka berlaboh-lah sakalian-nya angkatan itu di-labohan Jambu Ayèr itu, maka keluar-lah sa-buah perahu orang mengail dari kuala Jambu Ayèr itu. Maka di-lihat olèh orang dalam jong itu sa-buah perahu itu, maka tatkala hampir perahu itu kapada segala jong itu, maka segala orang di-dalam jong itu pun bertanya, kata-nya, 'Apa nama negeri ini?' Maka sahut orang mengail itu, 'Ada pun nama negeri ini Pasai.' Maka kata orang dalam jong itu, 'Apa ada khabar dalam negeri ini.' Maka sahut orang mengail itu, 'Ada pun khabar dalam negeri ini badak makan anak-nya.' Maka kata orang dalam jong itu, 'Tiada kami tahu herti-nya kata-mu itu.' Maka sahut-nya, 'Ada pun herti-nya, Paduka Sultan yang dalam negeri Pasai ini membunuh anak-nya dua orang, sa-orang bernama Tun Beraim Bapa, dari karna Sultan itu berahikan anak-nya perempuan sa-orang yang bernama Tun M.d.m Peria dan sa-orang bernama Tun Takiah Dara dan anak-nya Tun Abdul Jalil pun di-bunuh-nya di-buangkan-nya dalam laut Jambu Ayèr ini, sebab ia mendengar khabar Tuan Puteri Gemenenchang datang dari benua Jawa terlalu amat ia berahi akan Tun Abdul Jalil itu dan mayit Tun Abdul Jalil itu pun di-suroh-nya buangkan dalam laut Jambu Ayèr ini, itu-lah herti kata kami badak makan anay-nya.

Maka di-persembahkan-nya orang-lah kapada Tuan Puteri Gemenenchang segala kata orang pengail itu. Demi di-dengar-nya olèh Tuan Puteri khabar orang itu, maka ia pun menumboknumbak dada-nya, serta dengan tangis-nya. Maka kata Tuan Puteri, '(Hai) segala kamu tuan-tuan hulubalang-ku, dan segala

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rayat-ku, kembali-lah kamu sakalian ka-benua Jawa kapada ayah bonda-ku dan jikalau ada salah bebal-ku melainkan minta ampun-lah aku ka-bawah qadam ayah bonda-ku beribu-ribu ampun dan kamu cheterakan-lah kapada ayah bonda-ku seperti yang kamu dengar dan yang kamu lihat.' Maka Tuan Puteri pun berkata kapada segala orang isi perahu itu, 'Hai segala kamu yang di-dalam *ghur.b* ini siapa kamu mahu bersama-sama dengan aku di-sini-lah kamu dan siapa kamu mahu kembali turun-lah kamu kapada perahu lain karna *maqsud* kapada Tun Abdul Jalil yang ku berahikan itu dalam laut ini, aku pun disini-lah akan tempat-ku.'

Maka Tuan Puteri pun minta *do'a-lah* kapada *Allahu subhanahu wa ta'ala* demikian bunyi-nya, 'Ya ilahi ya *rabbi* matikanlah kira-nya hamba-mu dan tenggelamkan *ghur.b* hamba-mu dalam laut Jambu Ayēr ini dan ku-pertemukan kira-nya hamba-mu dengan Tun Abdul Jalil itu.' Hatta maka dengan *taqdir* *Allah ta'ala* maka *ghur.b* itu pun tenggelam-lah dalam laut itu dan segala angkatan itu pun kembali-lah ka-benua Jawa. Setelah sudah sampai-lah sakalian angkatan itu.

Maka di-cheterakan olēh orang yang empunya chetera. Maka tatkala kedengaran khabar Tuan Puteri Gemergenchang sudah tenggelam itu kapada Sultan Ahmad, maka Sultan Ahmad pun mematah-matah jari-nya serta dengan sesal-nya tiada berkesudahan sebab membunuh anak-nya Tun Beraim Bapa dan Tun Abdul Jalil dengan sesal-nya yang amat sangat. Maka sabda Sultan kapada segala hulubalang-nya, 'Hai segala kamu hulubalang-ku tegah apalah akan daku membunuh anak-ku itu.' Maka Tun Perpatēh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara pun berdatang sembah demikian sembah-nya, 'Ya tuanku shah alam

Lada siapa di-bangsalkan?

Ran. s.jan. k.r.t

Pada siapa di-sesalkan?

Tuan juga empunya pekerti.'

Sa-terlah itu maka sampai-lah segala angkatan Tuan Puteri Gemergenchang itu ka-benua Jawa, maka masok-lah sakalian merēka itu mengadap Sang Nata itu serta di-persembahkan-nya segala hal ahual-nya Tuan Puteri Gemergenchang sudah tenggelam itu dan di-khabarkan-nya khabar Sultan yang di-dalam negeri Pasai membunuh anak-nya itu. Maka tatkala di-dengar Sang Nata Majapahit khabar yang demikian itu, maka baginda dua laki isteri menangis terlalu amat sangat dan menghempas-hempaskan sendiri-nya kedua-nya lalu pengsan tiada-lah khabarkan diri-nya.

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Maka tatkala semboh-lah ia daripada pengsan itu, Sang Nata memberi titah kapada Pateh menyuroh menghimpunkan segala menteri dan segala penggawa yang kuasa-kuasa dan segala rayat dan bala tantera-nya. Sa-telah itu, maka di-suroh baginda mustaedkan segala kelengkapan dan segala alat senjata peperangan akan mendatangi negeri Pasai itu, sa-kira-kira empat ratus jong yang besar-besar dan lain daripada itu banyak lagi daripada ملغش dan kelulus. Sa-telah sudah lengkap-lah segala kelengkapan itu, maka segala menteri dan pegawai dan segala rayat pun masing-masing naik-lah ka-perahu-nya serta dengan alat senjata-nya dan bekal-nya. Maka di-titahkan baginda penggawa yang besar bernama Sēnapati ing Alaga dan beberapa ratus paramenteri dan parapenggawa.

Maka pada hari yang baik belayar-lah segala angkatan itu ka-negeri Pasai. Maka tatkala sampai-lah ia ka-labohan Pasai, maka naik-lah ia ka-darat, lalu ia mendirikan kota sa-panjang pantai. Sa-telah sudah, maka masok-lah ia ka-dalam kota-nya itu. Maka Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara pun mengadap Sultan Ahmad, seraya berdatang sembah akan hal musoh Majapahit itu sudah ia berkota. Maka Sultan pun terlalu sukachita menengar itu; maka titah baginda, 'Kapada, ēsok hari-lah kita suroh keluari musoh itu.' Maka sabda baginda Tun Bijaya Pangiran akan panglima-nya membawa rayat yang amat banyak. Maka pada keēsokan hari-nya, maka berbunyi-lah genderang perang daripada kedua pihak dan segala lashkar berdiri-lah di-mēdan, maka kedua pihak pun sama menempoh. Maka berperang-lah daripada kedua pihak, lashkar pun banyak-lah mati dan luka. Maka genderang kembali pun di-palu orang-lah. Maka kedua pihak lashkar pun kembali-lah masing-masing pada tempat-nya. Demikian-lah perang itu pada tiap tiap hari, kira-kira tiga bulan lama-nya perang itu, tiada juga beralahan, karna Jawa itu sa-bagai datang juga bantu-nya dari benua asing.

Maka tatkala di-lihat olēh Senapati akan hal perang itu tiada-lah juga beralahan-nya, maka ia pun terlalu sangat marah-nya akan segala penggawa-nya yang bersama-sama dengan dia itu, maka ia pun naik-lah sendiri-nya ka-darat serta dengan segala pahlawan-nya kira-kira sa-ribu, serta dengan menyuroh segala rayat-nya turun dari ghur.b dan jong-nya masing-masing dengan senjata-nya. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun menghimpunkan segala hulubalang-nya dan segala pahlawan-nya yang mashhur seperti pendikar Pulau Kukur dan Kampong Bangka dan pahlawan Kampong Langgar dan pendikar Kampong China dan si-Ali Kechil Pahat Potor dan Malik Akasan, dan Tun Rawana (روان) Per-

matang, serta menghimpunkan segala gajah dan kuda dan segala rayat yang tiada tepermēnāi.

Maka pada dinihari berbunyi-lah genderang perang daripada kedua pihak lashkar itu, masing-masing keluar-lah sakalian merēka itu dari dalam kota-nya. Maka berhadapan-lah di-mēdan. Maka berperang-lah merēka itu sakalian, tiada-lah berketahuan laku-nya perang itu champur baur-lah kedua pihak lashkar itu dan bunyi senjata pun gemerengchang-lah dan bunyi tempek segala hulu-balang dan segala manusia pun seperti tagar di-langit dan darah segala manusia pun mengalir-lah seperti anak sungai. Ada pun rayat Majapahit itu, sa-bahagi turun dari jong nya tiada berkaputusan akan membantu teman-nya dan beberapa yang datang dari negeri yang lain membantu Ratu Majapahit. Maka ada-lah lama perang yang demikian itu tiga hari tiga malam lama-nya tiada berhenti; maka segala pahlawan dan segala hulubalang dan segala rayat pun banyak-lah mati tiada terhisabkan lagi.

Maka di-persembahkan orang kapada Sultan, 'Ya, tuanku shah alam bahwa segala hulubalang dan segala pahlawan dan segala rayat kita banyak-lah mati tiada terhisabkan lagi banyak-nya.' Maka sabda Sultan, 'Wah anak-ku Beraim Bapa, jikalau ada ia jika Jawa sa-Jawa-nya, jika China sa-China-nya, jika Keling sa-Keling-nya tiada mahu melawan si-Beraim Bapa.' Maka Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara berdatang sembah seraya ia berpantun,

'Lada siapa di-bangsalkan  
Sa-lama lada sa-kerati?  
Pada siapa di-sesalkan?  
Tuan juga empunya pekerti.'

Sa-telah itu, maka Sultan Ahmad pun keluar-lah dari dalam istana-nya dengan segala isi istana-nya dan dengan segala perkakas-nya alat kerajaan-nya barang yang terbawa. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun lalu berangkat pindah pada suatu tempat bernama menduga di-sana-lah tempat baginda diam kira-kira lima belas hari perjalanan dari negeri Pasai.

Maka di-cheterakan olēh orang yang empunya chetera. Maka tatkala sampai-lah perang itu kapada tiga hari tiga malam, maka rayat Pasai pun pechah lah perang-nya sakalian merēka itu lalu lari cherai-berai tiada berketahuan lagi pergi-nya. Maka sakalian lashkar Majapahit pun masok-lah ka-dalam kota Pasai lalu ka-dalam istana-nya Sultan Ahmad itu. Maka terlalu-lah banyak merēka itu berolēh rampasan dan tawanan, tiada terkira-kira lagi banyak-nya.

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Hatta beberapa lama-nya ia berhenti di-negeri Pasai, maka segala lashkar-nya pun dan segala rayat-nya pun bersuka-sukaan makan minum dalam negeri itu. Maka ada sa-pohon pauh di-mēdan Pasai itu, di-sana-lah sakalian lashkar itu menyandarkan tombak-nya. Maka pohon pauh itu pun lalu bengkok daripada kebanyakan tombak sakalian merēka itu. Maka di-namai olēh orang datang sekarang tempat itu Padang Pauh Bēngkok.

Sa-telah itu, maka segala Jawa pun beberapa lama ia di-Pasai, maka Sēnapati pun mengerahkan segala menteri penggawa dengan segala rayat naik ka-bahtera-nya masing-masing bermuat segala harta rampasan dan orang tawanan terlalu banyak di-muatkan-nya, hingga sarat-lah segala kelengkapan itu seperti itēk berenang di-ayēr, demikian, lah rupa-nva segala kelengkapan. Maka sakalian nya pun berlayar-lah kembali ka-negeri-nya dengan kemenangan-nya, sa-panjang laut dengan tempēk sorak-nya. Hatta beberapa lama-nya ia di-laut, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Jambi dan ka-Palembang. Maka singgah-lah ia di-Jambi dan di-Palembang; maka kedua buah negeri itu pun menunggal (مغفل) dan berserah senjata, maka *ta'alluq-lah* kedua buah negeri itu ka-Majapahit.

..... lalu naik-lah sakalian mengadap Sang Nata dan Permaisuri. Maka Sēnapati pun berpesembahkan segala herta dan tawanan itu kapada Sang Nata, lalu-lah ia berkhabarkan perang itu daripada permula'an datang kapada kesudahan-nya akan hal negeri Pasai itu sudah alah dan raja-nya pun sudah lari entah kamana-mana pergi-nya. Maka titah Sang Nata suroh bahagi tiga segala harta itu, sa-bahagi akan Sang Nata dan sa-bahagi akan Sēnapati dengan segala menteri penggawa dan yang sa-bahagi lagi akan segala rayat bala tentera-nya.

Sa-bagai pula Sēnapati berpesembahkan peninggal negeri Jambi dan Palembang dengan segala senjata-nya dan akan hal negeri yang dua buah itu *ta'alluq-lah* ia kapada Sang Nata. Maka titah Sang Nata akan segala tawanan orang Pasai itu, suroh-lah ia dudok di-tanah Jawa ini mana kesuka'an hati-nya. Itu-lah sebab-nya, maka banyak keramat di-tanah Jawa itu tatkala zaman Pasai alah olēh Majapahit itu. Demikian-lah chetera-nya di-cheterakan olēh orang yang empunya chetera ini.

Al-kēsah, maka tersebut-lah perkata'an selang beberapa lama-nya maka Sang Nata memberi titah kapada Patēh Gajah Mada dan Temenggong Machan Negara dan Demang Singa Perkasa dan Sēnapati ing Alaga. Maka titah Sang Nata, 'Hai segala kamu menteri penggawa-ku apa bichara kamu sakalian akan negeri telok rantau dan tukang pulau sakalian yang belum *ta'alluq* itu, baik-lah

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tuan-tuan sakalian datang.' Maka sembah segala menteri dan penggawa itu, 'Patēk sakalian junjong seperti titah Ingkang Sinuhan itu.' Maka Patēh Gajah Mada pun berkerah-lah akan segala hulubalang dan segala rayat bala tentera dan segala kelengkapan pun sudah-lah *musta'idd* dengan segala alat senjata-nya dan tunggul pawai-nya dan *اميل ٢ كبلان* Sa-telah sudah, maka Patēh Gajah Mada dan segala menteri penggawa pun masok-lah ka-peseban agong mengadap Sang Nata, lalu sakalian menyembah serta duduk. Maka Patēh Gajah Mada pun berdatang sembah 'Ya tuanku ada pun titah duli, tuanku itu sudah-lah *mustaēd*, ada pun segala kelengkapan itu enam ratus dan segala penggawa yang besar tiga orang tuanku pertama temenggong Machan Negara dan Demang Singa Perkasa dan Senapati ing Alaga itu-lah tuanku. Lain pula daripada itu segala penggawa yang kechil, seperti ngabehi dan lurah, *بيکل* patinggi, ada pun rayat bala tentera itu banyak-nya tiga keti, tuanku.'

Maka titah Sang Nata, 'Sabar-lah dahulu kita menantikan ketika yang baik.' Maka baginda pun menjamu segala menteri penggawa dan segala rayat makan minum tujuh hari tujuh malam bersuka-sukaan dengan segala bunyi-bunyian. Sa-telah sudah, maka Sang Nata pun memberi persalinan akan segala menteri penggawa dan segala hulubalang dan rayat sakalian masing-masing pada *qadar*-nya. Sa-telah sudah Sang Nata menganugerahi dadar itu. Maka titah Sang Nata, 'Hai segala kamu menteri penggawaku hendak-lah kamu *ta'alluq*-kan dahulu jajahan Raja Ujong Tanah.'

Maka segala menteri penggawa dan hulubalang itu pun pamt menyembah Sang Nata, lalu ia naik kelengkapan-nya masing-masing lalu ia berlayar menuju negeri Ujong Tanah. Sa-telah sudah sampai kapada sakalian pulau itu dan tokong, maka sakalian-nya habis-lah *ta'alluq* dan memberi ufti: Tambelan dan Siantan dan Jemaja dan *B.ngur.n* dan Serasan dan Subi dan Pulau Laut dan Tioman dan Pulau Tinggi dan Pemanggil, kemudian seperti *K.rimat*. dan Belitong dan Bangka dan Lingga dan Riau dan Bintan dan Bulang sakalian-nya itu taalok ka-Majapahit.

Sa-telah itu, maka lalu-lah kelengkapan itu ka-tanah darat menaalokkan negeri Sambas dan Mempauh dan Sukadana. Maka lalu-lah ia ka-Kota Waringin kemudian lalu-lah ia ka-Banjar masin. Kemudian pula lalu-lah ia Pasir dan Kutai dan ka-*B.ru.m.k*. Maka sakalian negeri itu pun habislah *ta'alluq* kapada zaman itu, *ta'alluq*-lah ia Majapahit, sakalian negeri itu memberi ufti kapada Ratu Majapahit. Maka ada kira-kira dua mausim angin.

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Sa-telah itu maka sakalian kelengkapan itu pun belayar pula ia ka-timur menuju Pulau Bandan dan Siran dan Kerantok كرتوك dan سيران . Maka sakalian tanah Timur itu pun ta'alluq-lah ia kapada Ratu Majapahit kapada zaman dahulu kala, di-cheterakan oleh orang yang empunya chetera sakalian-nya itu memberi ufti kapada Ratu Majapahit. Sa-telah itu, maka kembali-lah segala kelengkapan itu belayar menyusur tanah Bima, Sumbawa dan Sileparang dan Bali, Balambangan sakalian-nya itu pun habis-lah ta'alluq.

Sa-telah berapa lama-nya, maka sakalian kelengkapan itu pun sampai-lah ka-Majapahit dengan kemenangan-nya. Maka segala menteri penggawa itu pun naik-lah ia mengadap Sang Nata bepersembahkan segala kemenangan-nya seperti penunggul dan ufti dan persembah sakalian negeri dan pulau dan tokong itu, terlalu sa-kali banyak-nya tiada terhisabkan pelbagai jenis warna beberapa daripada emas dan perak dan بل and senjata dan pelbagai warna kain dan orang dan lilin dan sarang burung dan tikar, rotan dan kajang, tiada lagi terpermenai banyak-nya, sakalian-nya itu. Maka titah Sang Nata di-suroh bahagi tiga, juga sa-bahagi akan Sang Nata dan sa-bahagi akan segala rayat dan bala tentera-nya.

Maka terlalu-lah maskhur 'adil baginda serta dengan ma'amur-nya negeri itu terlalu sa-kali ramai nya, gegah gempita dalam negeri serta segala makanan pun terlalu ma'amur pada zaman itu dan orang datang pun tiada lagi berkeputusan kapada tiap-tiap negeri yang ta'alluq kapada baginda itu segala jajahan yang di-seberang lautan, jangan di-kata lagi yang di-dalam sakalian tanah Jawa yang di-pasir dari kulun sa-kulun-nya dan dari wétan sa-wétan-nya dan yang di-darat sampai ka-segara kidul sakalian-nya datang mengadap Sang Nata dengan ufti-nya dan persembah-nya dan yang dari timur pun datang dari Bandan dari كرتوك dan سيران masing-masing dengan persembah-nya ada lilin ada chendana ada مسوي ada kayu manis ada pala dan chengkeh terlalu banyak bertimbun dan lagi beberapa daripada ambar dan kesturi.

Maka terlalu-lah ramai-nya negeri Majapahit itu, sentiasa dengan gong gendang dan jogèt dengan pelbagai jenis segala bunyi-bunyian ingar-ingaran bunyi-nya dengan pelbagai warna permainan seperti wayang wong dan wayang kulit dan topeng dan jogèt tandak bedaya dan jentera beksan terlalu-lah sa-kali ramai-nya malam siang negeri Majapahit itu dengan kesukaan-nya juga dan segala makanan pun terlalu-lah maamur dalam negeri itu,

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karna orang datang sana sini pun, tiada lagi terpermenai lagi banyak-nya.

Sa-telah beberapa lama-nya maka pikir Sang Nata, 'Semua-nya negeri habis *ta'alluq* melainkan Pulau Percha juga yang belum lagi *ta'alluq*, baik-lah aku menyuroh Pulau Percha dengan sa-suatu *hikma* 'ku suroh mengadu kerbau.' Maka ada sa-ëkur kerbau Sang Nata itu besar-nya seperti gajah tunggal dan tandok-nya sa-belah sa-belah panjang enam hasta dan pangkat tandok-nya besar-nya empat jengkal lilit dan mata-nya merah seperti saga.

Al-kēsah, maka tersebut-lah perkataan Sang Nata menyuroh Warga Dalam memanggil Patēh Gajah Mada. Maka Warga Dalam pun menyembah lalu berjalan ka-rumah Patēh. Sa-telah maka ia menyampaikan titah Sang Nata kata-nya, 'Hai, kiai Patēh di-panggil Sang Nata.' Maka Patēh pun turun lalu berjalan. Sa-telah sampai ka-peseban agong, maka Patēh pun menundok menyembah Sang Nata lalu ia dudok. Maka sireh pada jorong perak pun di-angkat orang ka-hadapan. Sa-telah sudah ia makan sireh, maka titah Sang Nata, 'Hai Patēh, apa bicharamu, baik-lah *ta'alluq-kan* negeri Pulau Percha, karna ia belum *ta'alluq*, sakalian negeri habis sudah *ta'alluq*.' Maka sembah Patēh, 'Anuhun kawula seking karsa duli tuanku.' Maka titah Sang Nata, 'Bawa-lah suatu *hikma* kerbau-ku yang besar itu adu dengan kerbau Patēh Suatang, apabila ia alah, maka *ta'alluq-kan* lah oleh-mu sakali. Apabila kita alah, maka kembali engkau segera-segara.'

Maka Patēh Gajah Mada pun menyembah, lalu keluar mengerahkan segala menteri dan penggawa dan segala rayat bala tentera-nya berengkap. Sa-telah sudah lengkap maka sakalian-nya pun naik-lah ka-atas kelengkapan-nya dengan segala alat senjata-nya. Ada pun banyak-nya segala kelengkapan itu limaratus dan penggawa yang pergi itu penggawa yang tiga itu juga dan beberapa penggawa yang kechil-kechil seperti ngabehi dan Aria (dan) Lurah dan *b.b.k.l.* (dan) patinggi dan gebayan dan segala rayat dua keti. Maka Sang Nata pun memberi persalin segala penggawa dan memberi dadar akan segala rayat, serta diperjamu-nya makan minum tiga hari tiga malam.

Sa-telah datang lah pada ketika yang baik, maka segala penggawa menteri pun menyembah Sang Nata dan bermohon kapada Patēh Gajah Mada, lalu ia naik kelengkapan-nya masing-masing, lalu belayar menuju negeri Jambi, beberapa lama ia di-laut, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Jambi. Sa-telah itu lalu ia mudak ka-ulu Jambi, sa-telah sampai ia ka-ulu Jambi lalu ia naik ka-darat ka-Periangan.

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Maka terdengar-lah khabar itu kapada Patêh Suatang. Maka Patêh Suatang pun menghimpunkan segala hulubalang dan rayat akan mengalu-ngalukan orang Jawa itu. Maka segala penggawa itu pun sampai-lah ia ka-Periangan. Maka ia berhenti-lah di-sana berbuat pasanggerahan. Sa-telah sudah, maka ia menyuroh kapada Patêh Suatang sa-orang penggawa memberi tahu ia hendak mengadu kerbau. Maka sampai-lah penggawa itu kapada Patêh Suatang, maka Patêh Suatang pun segera-lah memberi hormat akan penggawa itu menyuroh dudok. Maka penggawa itu pun dudok-lah dengan ta'zim-nya, lalu ia menyampaikan pesan penggawa yang besar itu, hendak mengadu kerbau Sang Nata itu. Maka jawab Patêh Suatang 'Baik-lah hamba minta janji tujuh hari, karna hamba lagi menchari kerbau akan melawan kerbau Sang nata itu.' Maka penggawa itu pun kembali-lah ia menyampaikan kata Patêh Suatang itu kapada menteri yang tiga itu.

Sa-telah itu, maka tersebut-lah perkata'an Pateh Suatang dengan Pateh Ketemenggongan mengambil anak kerbau yang baik, lagi sasan rupa-nya. Sa-telah sampai pada lima hari, maka médan Periangan pun di-perbaiki orang; maka anak kerbau itu pun di-kurong-nya, tiada di-beri-nya menyusui. Sa-telah genap tujuh hari, maka segala rayat pun bersaf-saf-lah di-médan daripada kedua pihak itu, maka penggawa yang tiga itu pun berjanji-lah ia dengan Patêh Suatang dan Patêh Ketemenggongan. Ada pun janji-nya 'Jikalau kerbau Sang Nata Majapahit alah, kami sakalian orang Jawa memakai kain chara perempuan sampai kamata kaki dan jikalau kerbau tuan-tuan alah hendak-lah tuan-tuan ta'aloq kapada Sang Nata Majapahit.' Maka sahut Patêh Suatang 'Baik-lah.'

Maka di-lepaskan-nya-lah kerbau-nya olêh orang Majapahit. Maka kerbau itu pun seperti singa menchari lawan-nya. Maka kerbau itu pun bermain-lah di-médan. Maka anak kerbau itu pun di-lepaskan olêh Patêh Suatang. Maka ia pun sangat-lah lapar dahaga, lalu ia menyerbu seperti kilat menyusup kerampang kerbau besar itu mengisap buah peler kerbau besar itu tiada lagi di-lepaskan-nya. Maka kerbau besar itu pun terpusing-pusing tiada lagi ia berdaya hendak memandok sukar karna di-bawah kerampang-nya. Maka ia lari kasana kamari itu pun tiada juga di-lepaskan-nya buah peler-nya olêh anak kerbau itu. Maka kerbau besar itu pun menjerit-jerit mengguling-gulingkan diri-nya.

Maka alah-lah kerbau Ratu Majapahit itu. Maka sorak orang pun gemuroh seperti tagar. Maka penggawa yang tiga orang itu pun kemalu-maluan, lalu ia hendak kembali. Maka kata Patêh Suatang dan Patêh Ketemenggongan 'Ya, saudara

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hamba penggawa Sang Nata, berhenti apa-lah apa tuan hamba dahulu barang dua hari, karna hamba hendak besuka-sukaan dengan tuan-tuan hamba, tanda kita muafakat, hamba hendak inakan minum dengan tuan-tuan sakalian.' Maka kata penggawa itu, 'Baik-lah jikalau tuan suka hamba berhenti.'

Maka Patēh Suatang pun membunuh beberapa ratus kerbau lembu kambing itek ayam akan tambul. Maka makan minum itu dengan beberapa ratus tapaian kilang dan beram tapai. Maka di-isi-nya kapada buloh telang segala minuman itu sa-ruas-ruas buloh serta di-panchong-nya tajam-tajam ujung-nya ada-lah banyak-nya itu beribu-ribu minum-minuman itu.

Sa-telah sudah lengkap, maka kata Patēh Suatang pada segala hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat-nya, 'Hai tuan-tuan sakalian, sa-telah sudah jemu kita makan, maka tuan-tuan tatang minuman pada buloh telang itu suatu sa-orang, lalu tuan-tuan tuangkan pada mulut-nya sama-sama sa-orang sa-orang. Sa-telah ia berganga lalu tuan-tuan sama-sama meradak-kan, alamat-nya apabila taboh berbunyi hendak-lah sama-sama meradakkan supaya habis merēka itu mati.'

Sa-telah sudah ia berwa'd itu, maka Patēh Suatang itu pun sa-orang hulubalang-nya di-suroh-nya memberi tahu segala penggawa Jawa itu, suroh dudok bersaf-saf di-padang hampir negeri Perianggan itu. Sa-telah sudah ia dudok beratur, maka segala ayer dan hidangan pun di-angkat orang-lah ka-hadapan segala penggawa itu dan segala menteri dan segala rayat. Maka kata Patēh Suatang, 'Santap-lah segala kiai-kiai akan jamu hamba orang Pulau Percha tiada dengan seperti-nya.' Maka kata segala penggawa itu, 'Menerima kasēh-lah hamba sakalian akan kasēh tuan-tuan sakalian.' Maka makan-lah sakalian merēka itu masing-masing pada hidangan-nya.

Sa-telah sudah ia makan, maka berdiri-lah segala hulubalang dan rayat membawa minuman itu sa-ruas sa-orang buloh telang itu lalu ia hampir-lah pada sa-orang. Maka hendak di-sambut-nya olēh orang Jawa itu tiada di-beri-nya olēh segala rayat Pulau Percha itu kata-nya, 'Tiada demikian adat kami, melainkan kami juga menuangkan dia kapada mulut tuan-tuan akan memberi hormat jamu kami itu.' Maka sakalian-nya pun berganga-lah, maka taboh pun berbunyi, maka sakalian-nya pun menuang lalu meradakkan ka-kerengkongan-nya.

Maka sa-tengah merēka itu habis-lah mati, dan sa-tengah merēka itu lari, maka dalam padang itu beberapa banyak-nya pohon-pohon mengkudu habis chondong ka-timur daripada di-

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langgar oléh segala rayat itu lari, sampai sekarang chondong juga mengkudu itu semua-nya; jikalau tumbuh anak-nya chondong juga ia ka-timur. Maka mayat segala Jawa itu pun busok-lah kapada padang itu, maka di-nami-nya tempat itu Padang Si-busok datang sekarang, dan tempat mengadu kerbau itu di-namai-nya negeri itu Menangkabau datang sakarang.

Maka segala rayat yang lari itu pun pulang-lah ka-Majapahit dengan mashghul-nya dan perchintaon-nya, maka keluar-lah ia dari Jambi lalu ia belayar menuju negeri itu, beberapa lama-nya ia di-laut, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Majapahit lalu naik ka-darat saka-lian-nya mengadap Sang Nata, serta bepersembahkan peri hal-nya daripada permulaan-nya kapada kesudahan-nya, (kata-nya) 'Demikian-lah tuanku akan hal-nya itu.' Maka Sang Nata pun tiada terkata-kata lagi, terlalu amat sangat mashghul-nya akan segala penggawa-nya dan menteri baginda yang besar-besar itu yang di-harap-nya. Demikian-lah di-cheterakan oléh orang yang em-punya chetera ini.

Tamat Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai selamat sempurna yang mem-bacha dia dan segala yang menengarkan dia, istemewa yang menyuratkan dia di-peliharakan *Allahu subhanahu wa ta'ala* apa-lah kira-nya dari dunia datang ka-akhira baraka shafa'a al-Nabi Muhammad al-Mustafa Salla 'llahu 'alaihi wa sallam. Tamat hari *ithnain* kapada hari dua-puloh satu kapada bulan muharam sanat tujoh *hijratu'l-nabi* sangking kiai (hyayi) Suradimanggala, bupati sapuh pu negeri Denmak nagari Bogor, warsa 1942.

Bahwa ini negeri yang tersebut kapada Hikayat Pasai saka-lian-nya 1. Negeri Pasai, raja-nya bernama Ahmad.

2. Negeri di-Balék Rimba.
3. Negeri Semerlanga.
4. Negeri Beruana.
5. Negeri Simpang di-ulu Sungai.
6. Negeri Buloh Telang ratu Megat Iskandar.
7. Negeri Benua, raja nama-nya Sultan Malik'ul-Nasar.
8. Negeri Barus.
9. Negeri Semudera raja Merah Silu.
10. Negeri Ma'abri raja bernama Sultan Muhammad.
11. Negeri Perlak raja bernama Sultan.
12. Negeri Jambu Ayër.
13. Negeri Rama Gandi.
14. Negeri Tukas
15. Negeri Pekan ratu-nya bernama Tun Beraim (Bapa).

Bahwa ini negeri yang ta'alluq kapada ratu negeri Majapahit kapada zaman pechah-nya negeri Pasai, ratu-nya bernama Ahmad.

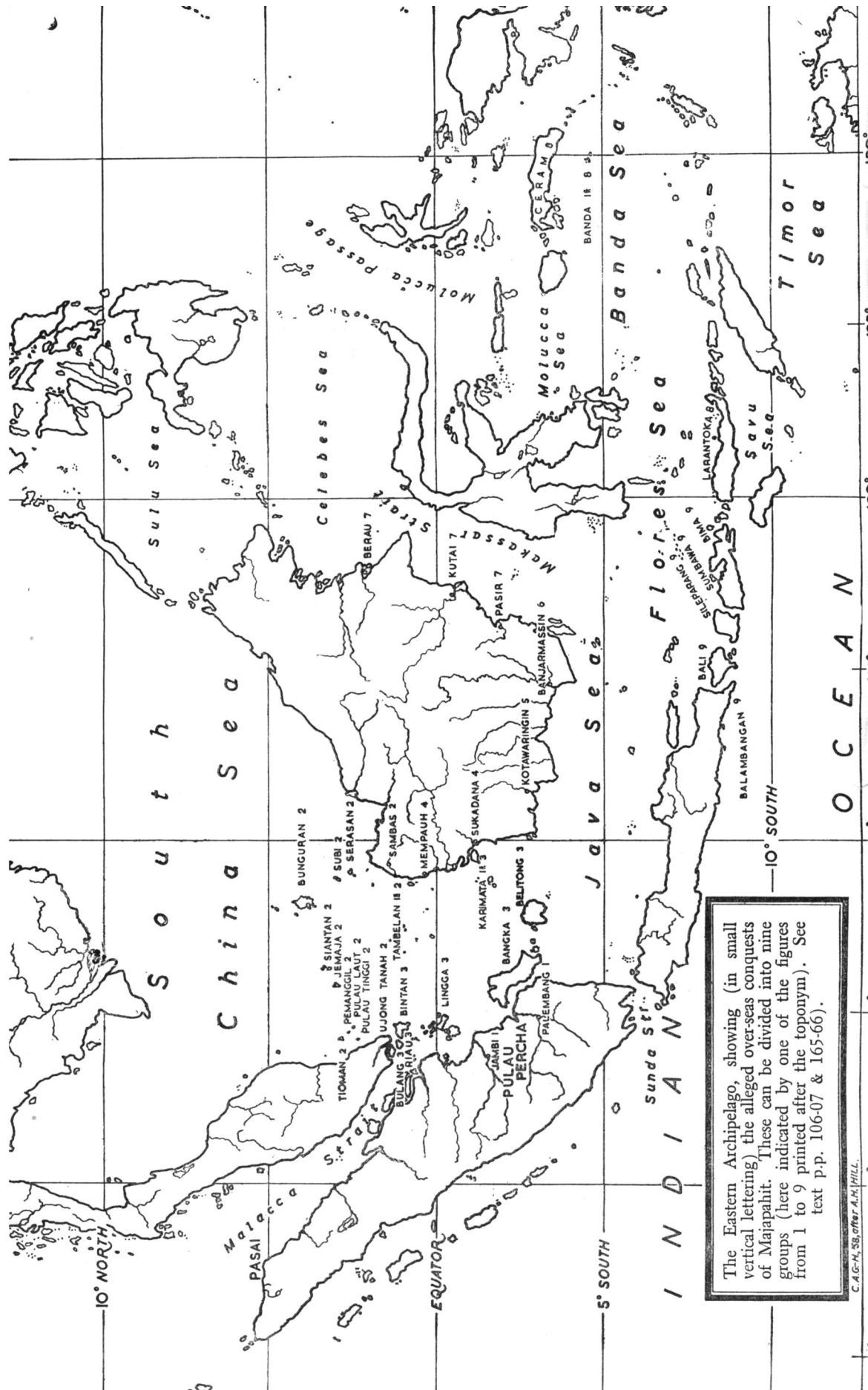
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1. Negeri Tambēlan.
2. Negeri Siontan.
3. Negeri Jemaja.
4. Negeri شورن.
5. Negeri Serasan.
6. Negeri Subi.
7. Negeri Pulau Laut.
8. Negeri Tioman.
9. Negeri Pulau Tinggi.
10. Negeri Pemanggil K.rimat.
11. Negeri Belitang.
12. Negeri Bangka.
13. Negeri Lingga.
14. Negeri Riau.
15. Negeri Bintan.
16. Negeri Bulong.
17. Negeri Sambas.
18. Negeri Mempauh.
19. Negeri Sukadana.
20. Negeri Kota Waringin.
21. Negeri Banjar Masin.
22. Negeri Pasir.
23. Negeri Kotai.
24. Negeri Berau.
25. Negeri Jambi.
26. Negeri Palembang.
27. Negeri Ujong Tanah.

Bahwa ini negeri bawah timur.

1. Negeri Banda.
2. Negeri Bima.
3. Negeri Sembawa.
4. Negeri Silaparang.
5. Negeri Asiran.
6. Negeri K.r-ntok.
7. Negeri Bali.
8. Negeri Balembangan.

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The Eastern Archipelago, showing (in small vertical lettering) the alleged over-seas conquests of Majapahit. These can be divided into nine groups (here indicated by one of the figures from 1 to 9 printed after the toponym). See text p.p. 106-07 & 165-66).



## **The Chronicles of the Kings of Pasai**

### **Part One. The Islamisation of Semudera-Pasai.**

Here now is the full story which tells<sup>1</sup> of the king who first embraced Islam in this land of Pasai. In the account we have received it is said that of the countries here in the east it was Pasai which first took to the faith of God and His Prophet. There were two kings who were brothers, one named Raja Ahmad, the other Raja Muhammad. Raja Ahmad was the elder. Each of the two brothers wished to make for himself a city in Semerlanga<sup>2</sup>.

Raja Muhammad made the first move. He set out with his people to clear a stretch of jungle<sup>3</sup>. Now in the middle of the jungle there stood a clump of bamboo canes of quite extraordinary thickness. Although the people went on cutting it back they could not clear it. The clump grew up again as before. The Raja himself went and slashed at it, and succeeded in cutting it back to the roots. Then he saw in the centre of the clump a bamboo shoot as thick as a man's body. Just as he was aiming a blow at it there stepped out a young girl of surpassing beauty. Throwing away his sword<sup>4</sup> he quickly gathered up the child and carried her back to his house. When Raja Muhammad's wife saw him carrying the child she at once ran up to them and welcomed them home. The king and his wife sat down together and as they looked at the young maid both of them were filled with joy<sup>5</sup>. The king told his wife from beginning to end the story of his finding the child in a clump of bamboos. And to the child he gave the name Princess Betong. He treated her as a real princess, with ladies-in-waiting and nurses to look after her maids and a set of clothes. Great was the king's affection for his child, as with each succeeding day she grew more mature and more beautiful.

Now the news that his younger brother had discovered a child in a clump of bamboos reached the ears of Raja Ahmad. So he and his wife set out to see his brother's foundling child. Arriving at his brother's house he went inside. His brother greeted him with due respect and asked him to be seated. So he and his wife sat down, and Raja Muhammad and his wife sat facing them. Betel-leaf was offered to him in a golden cup. Then he said "Raja Muhammad, my brother, where is this child of yours? I would like to see her". Raja Muhammad called to his maids-in-waiting and the nurses "Bring in my child", and at once

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they brought her before Raja Ahmad. He was delighted to see what a very beautiful child she was<sup>6</sup>. Then he and his wife took their leave and returned home. Meanwhile Raja Muhammad's people set to work building fortifications and a moat, and besides these a palace and an audience-hall. Then the king went to live in his new city, where he enjoyed his days giving feasts and entertainments to his ministers, his chiefs and his people.

There is a story told about Raja Ahmad. Some time after this he made for himself a city on the other side of the forest, distant about a day's journey from that of his younger brother. This city also had fortifications and a moat, with a palace and an audience-hall. There the king lived happily, spending his days feasting with his troops.

One day Raja Ahmad went out hunting in the depths of the forest. But nothing of the spoils of the chase fell to his hand. In the forest fastness he came upon a shrine inside which was an old man. Raja Ahmad greeted the old man, who at once returned his greeting. Then Raja Ahmad described to him how his brother had found a princess in a clump of bamboos. "My son," said the old man, "If you too would have a child I will show you one. Wait here a moment". Raja Ahmad waited. Almost at once there appeared a huge elephant, with a small child sitting on its head. The elephant bathed the child in the river, and then carried it to the bank. Then the elephant went back and bathed itself. After it had bathed it lifted the child up onto its head and carried it off into the forest. That is what happened, while all the time Raja Ahmad was watching everything that the elephant did. Then the old man said "Young man", you must do all in your power to find a way of catching the child, so that we may gain possession of it". But Raja Ahmad replied "Were I to be shown gold or jewels, even were they offered me as a gift, they would not bring me such great joy as the sight of this child". Then Raja Ahmad said "By your leave I will return first to my own city. Which is the way there?". The old man pointed out the road to him, and he left.

In a moment he found himself back in his own domain. As he reached the palace his wife was standing at the gate to welcome him home. Raja Ahmad said to her "Greetings to you, my wife. I went out hunting but did not catch a single animal. In fact I did not even see one. But in the middle of the forest I came to a shrine. Inside the shrine there was an old man. I greeted him and he returned my greeting. I told him how my brother had found a princess in a clump of bamboos. Then the old man said "If you too would have a child I will show you one.

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Wait here a moment". I waited, and in a moment there appeared a huge elephant with a small child sitting on its head. The elephant bathed the child and then set it down on the bank. After that the elephant went back and bathed itself. Then it lifted the child up onto its head and carried it off into the forest. That is what I saw happen". His wife replied "Your Highness, make any plan you can which may bring about the child's capture". Then Raja Ahmad went out of the palace and assembled his troops. When the whole company was gathered together before him he told them about the child sitting on the elephant's head, and [said] that a way must be found of capturing the child.

On an auspicious day the king and his troops went into the forest to the place where the elephant had bathed the child. The old man in the shrine had vanished, and so had the shrine. Nothing was to be seen of them anywhere. One day, a Thursday, the troops spent digging pits in the ground where they might hide<sup>8</sup> in order to catch the child. Friday came, and out of the forest appeared the elephant carrying the child to the river to bathe at the same spot as before. On reaching the river the elephant bathed the child, and after bathing it set it down on the bank<sup>9</sup>. Then the elephant went back and bathed itself. At once Raja Ahmad snatched up the child and bore it quickly away. The elephant saw [this happening] and gave chase. But the troops drove it off. Some pelted it with stones and it turned back. Now the elephant was named Bujang Sekalis. It was a solitary elephant and had not been able to live long in the district<sup>10</sup>.

Raja Ahmad made his way back to his own city with his troops. As he reached the palace his wife was standing at the gate to welcome him home. Her eyes fell on the young boy, and as quickly as she could she came up and received him from Raja Ahmad's arms. He was extremely handsome, and they named him Merah Gajah. The news that Raja Ahmad had a child spread throughout the land and came to the ears of his brother Raja Muhammad. So Raja Muhammad came to see Merah Gajah. He was delighted when he saw how very handsome the boy was. Raja Ahmad described to his brother Raja Muhammad everything that had happened while he had been out hunting, how he had come to a shrine in the middle of the forest and had found in it an old man, and how this had led to the discovery of the child. Then Raja Muhammad took leave of Raja Ahmad and his wife and returned to his own city. Time passed, and the two foundling children grew up. Then Merah Gajah went to live with Princess Betong. The two [kings] lived

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happily, for now they were not only brothers but also allied by marriage<sup>11</sup>.

We now come to a story which has been handed down to us about Princess Betong and Merah Gajah. Some time after they had been living together as man and wife, by the decree of God, the Exalted Princess Betong became pregnant, and when her hour had come the child she bore was a boy. She named him Merah Silu<sup>11a</sup>. Some time after this Princess Betong again became pregnant, and when her hour had come she gave birth to another boy; and him she named Merah Hasum<sup>12</sup>.

Now the special good fortune of Princess Betong lay in a single hair in the centre of her head. It was the colour of gold, and was visible only when she had put oil on her hair. One day Princess Betong oiled her hair and Merah Gajah noticed her single golden hair. "Come," he said, "Let me pluck out that single hair of yours". But the princess replied "If you pluck out that hair of mine it will be a sign that we shall be parted." Several times he made the same request, but the princess always refused. One day when the princess was asleep Merah Gajah plucked out her single hair, thinking that no possible harm could come to her. Then blood came out of the hole where the hair had been — white blood which went on pouring out without ceasing. At last the flow of blood stopped. But by that time the princess was dead. Her slaves and attendants at once ran off to take the news to her father Raja Muhammad. "Your Highness," they said, "Your child, our lady Princess Betong is dead, killed because Merah Gajah plucked a single hair from the centre of her head". When Raja Muhammad heard the news they brought he flung himself on the ground, rending his coat and tearing his garments. In an angry passion he assembled his troops, attacked Merah Gajah and slew him.

The news that Merah Gajah had met his death was at once reported to Raja Ahmad. People said "Your Highness, your child Merah Gajah is dead, killed by his father-in-law because he plucked a hair from the centre of Princess Betong's head. It did not occur to him that she would die. When Merah Gajah's father and mother heard these tidings they flung themselves on the ground, rending their coats and tearing their garments. Raging with anger Raja Ahmad assembled his troops fully armed. When they were ready he waited until an auspicious moment came. Then he set out to attack his brother Raja Muhammad. The two armies stood face to face and fighting broke out on all sides. Confusion reigned. Dust rose to the skies, until friend could no longer be distinguished from foe. To the battle cries

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of the chiefs<sup>12a</sup> and their troops was added the din of arms clashing and of javelins hurled by the leaders. The noise reached even into the depths of the forest<sup>12b</sup>. So great was the toll of those killed and injured as both sides fell upon one another and slew right and left, that even the two kings met their death.

But the two brothers Merah Silu and Merah Hasum were spared. Those who had lived through the battle gathered together and paid homage to them both as rulers of their city. Time passed, and one day Merah Silu said to his brother Merah Hasum "What shall we do? For we two alone are left, our grandparents and parents having died here in the land of Semerlanga. If we remain in this place we too will share their fate, for no good at all can come to us from living here. Let us leave this city and search elsewhere for a good place which we can make our home". When the two brothers had made up their minds to do this they chose an auspicious day and set off towards the west. They stopped at one place after another. Then by the decree of God the Exalted they reached a city called Beruana<sup>13</sup>. And there they settled, the two of them, one on either side of the river.

Now we come to a story told, according to the tradition which has been handed down to us, about Merah Silu and Merah Hasum at a time when they were living in the city of Beruana. One day Merah Silu went down to the river to amuse himself. He noticed that there were a great many fish in the river. So as soon as he had returned home he told his servants to make a fish-trap. When the men had made the trap, Merah Silu went back to the river and there set it. The next day Merah Silu went to look at the trap and saw that it was full of galley-worms<sup>13a</sup>. Merah Silu thought to himself "Verily it seems as if these galley-worms are a gift bestowed upon me by God the Exalted". So he took the galley-worms home, put them in a cauldron and ordered them to be boiled. Then by the decree of God the Exalted the galley-worms turned into gold and their spume into silver<sup>14</sup>.

So great wealth came to Merah Silu. People told his brother how God the Exalted had shown favour to Merah Silu. They said "We saw your elder brother Merah Silu carrying galley-worms in a fish-trap<sup>15</sup> back to his house. We think he must have eaten them". When Merah Hasum heard this report about his brother he remained silent<sup>16</sup>.

Then Merah Silu said to his men "Let us play a trick on some wild buffaloes, ones that are of no use to the people here.

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I want to catch them". Merah Silu paid the people [for their services] with pieces of gold and silver, and told them to make an *anderak*; that is, a kind of pit for the herding of two or three hundred buffaloes. When they had made it he ordered his men to stampede the wild buffaloes which were standing by the side of the entrance. The frightened buffaloes made for the entrance where their horns became stuck in the gateway, so that they could move neither forwards nor backwards. Then Merah Silu had the entrance blocked up, [for which purpose] each of his men brought a clod of earth. When the buffaloes of the village had all died Merah Silu ordered the buffaloes in the *anderak* to be released. By this time they were tame, and Merah Silu had them chained by the nose.

The news of Merah Silu's exploit reached his brother Merah Hasum — how he was playing a trick on the people with animals which were of no use to any of them. The place became known by the name of Kerbau Kampong. Merah Hasum was angry with Merah Silu. Calling one of his followers he said to him "Go and tell my brother Merah Silu that I would ask him what is the good of playing a trick with animals which are of no use to anybody. If he persists in shaming me and does not listen to these words of mine, let him quit this city. He shall not be allowed to remain here with me". When Merah Silu heard his brother's words he thought to himself "Very well. If Merah Hasum speaks to me in this way I will find another place in which to live".

Merah Silu waited for an auspicious day. Then he set out taking with him all his belongings and his herd of buffaloes. As for his buffalo-whips some seven men were needed to carry them. Merah Silu's journey lay along a ravine which cut through the middle of a hill, showing the tracks where buffaloes passed. After many days' travel Merah Silu came to the headwaters of the Pasangan river. He arrived at a place in the hinterland of Karang where the ways parted, and at that place he stopped. After he had remained there for some time his buffaloes had eaten up all the rice in the fields and ravaged everyone's banana trees. The countryfolk there soon came to hear of Merah Silu. "What kind of animals are these", they asked, "which have been brought to our land? Our crops have been completely destroyed through being eaten by them. So you and your men must remain here no longer". When Merah Silu heard what they all said he replied "Listen, all of you who live in this place. Be patient for a time while I look for a place in which to settle".

Then Merah Silu set out to look for a new home. He made his way upstream to Ulu Semenda and reached a city

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called Buloh Telang. There he met Megat Iskandar who bade him stay and entertained him with food and drink. When Merah Silu had enjoyed his hospitality Megat Iskandar said to him "What request have you to make to me?". Merah Silu answered "My purpose in visiting you is to ask for a place to settle in, for I am homeless". Megat Iskandar said "If that is so you had better stay here with me. As for the crops, they are plentiful, and as for the buffaloes, they are in good fettle on these spacious pasture lands"<sup>17</sup>. Merah Silu replied "If I have found favour with you what objection can there be? For you will be like a father to me". Then he took his leave and went to fetch his belongings, his men and his buffaloes. All of them he brought to Buloh Telang. And there he settled.

For a while after Merah Silu had made his home there his chief pastime, day after day, was cock-fighting. Many backers came to match their fighting-cocks against his. If he lost he paid up the sum he had wagered. But if they were the ones to lose he never asked them for what they owed him. This reached the ears of the chiefs and elders in the city. They too came to take part in cock-fighting with Merah Silu. When the time came for them to go home he gave to each of them a buffalo. Those who came to enjoy the sport with Merah Silu were delighted. Even to those who came only to watch he gave a buffalo each. This was his invariable custom.

Megat Iskandar and Megat Kedah were both the elder brothers of Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar of Rimba Jeran<sup>18</sup>. Now the people were very fond of Merah Silu. So Megat Iskandar told them to bring gifts, a basket of rice each and a buffalo each, to further the purpose he had in mind<sup>19</sup>. One day Megat Iskandar held counsel with the chiefs, the elders and the people in the city. He said to them "Listen, all of you. What shall we do about our friend Merah Silu? In my opinion it would be a good thing if we made him king. For in fact he is already our ruler, and he is wealthy. Then we can all become dependent on his charity". Among those present there was one named Tun Aria Benong<sup>20</sup> who did not wish Merah Silu to become king. Megat Kedah said "If he is the man we make king, why even our children and grandchildren will be ruler by him". Megat Iskandar consulted the assembly and found that most of the people agreed with his proposal to make Merah Silu king.

After Merah Silu had become king he was attacked by Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar at Rimba Jeran. But Merah Silu overcame Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar whose men broke and fled<sup>21</sup>. The Sultan withdrew to a place called Benua where he made a stand

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and built himself a palace. Then, after he had stayed there for some time, Merah Silu attacked Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar. Battle was joined, and he retreated into the forest. So Merah Silu called the forest there *Pertama Terjun*, the name by which people have known it up to the present day. Now Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar reached a certain place where he stopped and built himself a palace. After he had stayed there for some time the news was brought to Merah Silu that Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar was living in a certain place with all his chiefs and his troops. Then once again Merah Silu moved against Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar.

The conflict was widespread. A great many people were killed and injured. But Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar's forces broke away and escaped to the other side of Gunong Telawas. Again and again Merah Silu encircled them<sup>22</sup>, but each time they escaped from the trap. Merah Silu called the place *Kubu*, the name by which it is known today. The Sultan made his escape towards a certain city. He came to a mountain stream, narrow and deep, and there one of his chiefs suddenly halted paralysed in his tracks. They called the stream and the place *Pekersang*. Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar made his way onwards and reached *Kumat*.

It was some time after he had settled at *Kumat* with his chiefs and his troops that they decided to build themselves a fort. After the fort had been built news of it reached *Megat Iskandar*. He launched an attack on the Sultan at *Kumat*. Fighting started and as it progressed more and more of the chiefs were killed. [Finally] the Sultan was defeated, his fighting men dispersed in all directions nobody knew whither. There was, however, one of the Sultan's chiefs named *Tun Aria Benong* who made his way to *Barus*. When he reached *Barus* *Tun Aria Benong* was apprehended by the ruler of *Barus* who wanted to make him a prisoner. It was for this reason that however old the ruler of *Barus* might be he still sent *sembah* to the ruler of *Pasai*, and however young the ruler of *Pasai* might be he sent only *salam* to the ruler of *Barus*<sup>23</sup>. As for Merah Silu, *Megat Iskandar* made him ruler of *Rimba Jeran*.

This is a story which has been handed down to us. Once upon a time, in the days when the Prophet Muhammad the Apostle (may God bless him and give him peace) was still alive, he said to the elect of Mecca "In time to come, when I have passed away, there will arise in the east a city called *Semudera*. When you hear tell of this city make ready a ship to take to it all the regalia and panoply of royalty<sup>24</sup>. Guide its people into the religion of Islam. Let them recite the words of the profession of faith. For in that city shall God (glory be to Him the Ex-

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alted) raise up saints in great number. Moreover there will be a certain fakir in a country called Ma'abri<sup>25</sup>. Him you will take with you to Semudera".

Now there is a story told about Merah Silu at Rimba Jeran. One day he went out to the chase, taking with him a hunting-dog which was named Si-Pasai. When he released the dog it started barking on some high ground. Then Merah Silu saw an ant as large as a cat. He caught the ant and ate it. Afterwards he ordered his followers to cut down the grass on the high ground. And there he built himself a palace where he went to live with his chiefs and his subjects. Merah Silu named the place Semudera, which means a giant ant, and he settled in it as its ruler<sup>26</sup>.

Some time after the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) had passed away from this world the elect of Mecca heard that there was a city in the east called Semudera. So the Caliph made ready a ship to take to Semudera all the regalia and panoply of royalty. When the ship was ready to sail the captain Shaikh Ismail ordered it to make a stop at Ma'abri<sup>27</sup>. After many days' sailing it reached the shores of Ma'abri and anchored in the roads.

Now the ruler of the country was named Sultan Muhammad. The people of Ma'abri, seeing a ship anchored in the roads, at once went before the king and did obeisance. They said "May you live for ever, Lord of the Realm. There is a ship riding at anchor in the bay". The king said to his chief minister "Go, my chief minister, and look at the ship". The chief minister immediately left and ordered a man to take out a boat and look at the ship. When the boat reached the ship the boatman hailed it saying "Whence does this ship come? What is the name of your captain? And for what place are you making?" The answer came from those on board "This ship has come from Mecca. The captain's name is Shaikh Ismail. He has been ordered by the Caliph to go to a city called Semudera". When the boatman heard what the men on board said he returned to the shore and went to the chief minister, to whom he reported to the shore and went to the chief minister, to whom he reported what he had been told by the men on the ship. Then the chief minister went into the presence of the king and said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. As for that ship it comes from Mecca, its captain's name is Shaikh Ismail and he is going to the city of Semudera".

Now Sulan Muhammad was a descendant of Abu Bakar the Most Truthful, may God greet him. He ordered all kinds of

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food and sweetmeats to be sent to Shaikh Ismail. When these had been delivered he made his elder son ruler of Ma'abri in his place. Then he himself and his younger son donned the clothing of fakirs. Abdicating the throne he left the palace and went on board the ship. To the men on the ship he said "You shall take me to Semudera". The people on board thought "This is indeed the fakir of whom the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) spoke". They took the fakir onto the ship and set sail<sup>28</sup>.

They were many days at sea. Now Merah Silu had a dream. In his dream he saw a person standing, his chin cupped in his hand<sup>29</sup>, his eyes covered by his four fingers. The person said "Merah Silu, recite the words of the profession of faith". "I do not know how to recite them", replied Merah Silu. "Open your mouth", said the person. Merah Silu opened his mouth and the person spat into it. The taste was rich and sweet. Then he said to Merah Silu "Your name shall be Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. From now on you are a Muslim and will recite the words of the profession of faith. Animals that are alive and lawful to eat you will slaughter with the proper ritual and eat. But if they are not so slaughtered you must not eat them. In forty days' time a ship will arrive from Mecca. The words spoken by the people on board and all their observances which are in accordance with the institutions of Islam, these you must follow without deviation. And you must obey all their instructions"<sup>30</sup>.

Then Merah Silu said "Who are you?" and in his dream the voice answered "I am the Prophet Muhammad the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) who was in Mecca". Then the person removed his hand from his chin. And the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) said to Merah Silu "Look down". Merah Silu looked down, and as he woke from his sleep he realized that he was circumcized<sup>31</sup>. Then he said "I testify that there is no God but God, alone with no companion. And I testify that Muhammad is His Servant and His Apostle"<sup>32</sup>. After he had recited the words of the profession of faith Merah Silu read thirty sections of the *Qur'an* without a single fault [in his exposition], although nobody had ever taught him to do this. His men and his chiefs said to him "As for the words which you our king have just uttered we do not understand a single one of them"<sup>33</sup>.

The following is a story which has been handed down to us. Shaikh Ismail's ship arrived at Telok Teria and came to anchor<sup>34</sup>. The fakir went ashore and, coming upon a man fishing, said to him "What is the name of this city?". The man replied

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"This city is called Semudera". "What is the name of its ruler?" the fakir added<sup>85</sup>. "His name is Merah Silu and his title Maliku'l-Saleh", the fisherman answered. After they had spoken together the fisherman went away and the fakir returned to the ship.

The next day Shaikh Ismail went ashore and made his way to the city to find Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. He came into the presence of the Sultan and said "Oh Sultan, recite the words of the profession of faith". The Sultan then recited them, saying "I testify that there is no God but God, alone with no companion, and I testify that Muhammad is His Servant and His Apostle". After the recitation Shaikh Ismail wiped his beard. The next day the fakir came bringing thirty sections of the *Qur'an* for Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. He offered the book to the Sultan who accepted it with reverence. Taking it into his hands he opened it and read it. He needed nobody to instruct him, for he already understood how to read it. The fakir and Shaikh Ismail exclaimed "Praise be to God, the Lord of all Worlds".

Then Shaikh Ismail ordered an assembly of the chiefs and the people great and small, old and young, male and female. When they were all gathered together they were taught by Shaikh Ismail to recite the profession of faith. The whole population willingly recited the words of the profession of faith, in all sincerity and with true belief in their hearts. Therefore the city of Semudera was given the name of *Daru'l-Islam*<sup>86</sup>. For among the people all strife and conflict ceased, and they did not weary of their zeal in spreading the faith of Islam.

Shaikh Ismail had the regalia taken into Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*<sup>87</sup>. When they had been received and an auspicious day arrived all the chiefs and the people assembled before the ruler. The Sultan wore his robes of state, a gift from Mecca, for now he was to be installed by beat of drum. The chiefs were drawn up in long rows facing the *nobat Ibrahim Khalil*<sup>88</sup>. The court heralds stood by to clasp hands in prayer, and each of the officers of state attended to his duty. The installation drum was beaten and the band began to play tunes. A royal salute was fired. Then the whole company of chiefs and people did homage, saying as they bowed in obeisance "O King, Lord of the Realm, God's Shadow on Earth, may you live for ever". When the Sultan had been installed the chiefs sat out in front, each according to his rank, before their ruler. There were two principal chiefs in the city. One was called Tun Seri Kaya and the other Tun Baba Kaya. Tun Seri Kaya was given the name of Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din and Tun Baba Kaya that of [Sayid] Asmayu'd-din<sup>89</sup>.

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Shaikh Ismail remained for some time in Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*. One day he came and asked leave of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh to depart. The Sultan collected together presents for the Caliph of Mecca: ambergris, camphor, eaglewood, benzoin, cloves and nutmeg<sup>40</sup>. All these were handed to Shaikh Ismail. The Sultan said "O Shaikh, these are the gifts we humbly offer to the Caliph of Mecca. And we pray that we may receive first the blessing of God, then the blessing and intercession of the Prophet Muhammad the Apostle of God and the blessing of the Caliph"<sup>41</sup>. Then Shaikh Ismail went on board the ship and set sail. But the fakir remained behind to establish the religion of Islam firmly in the city of Semudera.

This is a story which we have heard. There were in the city members of a certain tribe that would not embrace the religion of Islam. So they fled to the upper reaches of the river Pasangan. It is for that reason that the inhabitants of the city called them Gayau, and have so called them up to the present time<sup>42</sup>.

Now the Sultan was not yet married. One day his ministers and his chiefs came and did obeisance before him, saying "O King, Lord of the Realm, may you live for ever. We your slaves, humbly doing obeisance at your feet, beg to say that it were better Your Highness were married, so that the succession to your throne may not be broken but may descend to your children and grandchildren". When the Sultan heard what his ministers and chiefs said he replied "If that is what you think I agree to it. Find someone who seems the most suitable in the opinion of you all". Then they did obeisance again saying "Your Highness, Lord of the Universe, we your humble servants have heard tell of a certain ruler, in the city of Perlak, who has three daughters of surpassing beauty. Your Highness may well command us to go there. For he is a great and powerful king".

Then the Sultan gave instructions to one of his ministers, telling him to visit the ruler of Perlak taking with him a band of ladies who knew the right words to use in all the stages of marriage negotiations. When everything was ready, on an auspicious day the ministers<sup>43</sup> embarked on a ship and sailed away in the direction of Perlak. After many days they reached Perlak and anchored in the roads. The people brought the news to the ruler of Perlak saying "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is a ship at anchor in the roads". The king of Perlak replied "Go and see what ship it is". The people who had seen it went out in a boat<sup>44</sup>, and when they had reached the ship they called out "Whence comes this ship and for what purpose are



you here?”. The reply from the ship was “We come from Semudera *Daru’l-Islam* and bring good tidings. Our purpose in coming here is to offer our homage to the Sultan of Perlak”. On discovering this the people at once returned and reported to the Sultan of Perlak what had been said by the minister. The Sultan said “Go and invite the minister ashore”. The people went off to tell the minister, who came ashore with his officers to appear before the Sultan. They came into his presence and raised their hands in obeisance. Then the king said to the minister “I wish to know, minister, what is your object in coming here”. The minister replied “Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, I am here at the command of my sovereign Sultan Maliku’l-Saleh the king of Semudera *Daru’l-Islam* who wishes to pay homage to Your Highness”. He presented to the king the gifts, arms and ornaments, he had brought with him. As he did so he spoke in words expressive of the loftiest and most ideal sentiments, now of good counsel, now in praise enough to bring joy to the faces of all men and understanding to the hearts even of those most strongly opposed to the princess’s betrothal.

When the king of Perlak heard what the minister had to say he was delighted, and his chiefs also were very pleased. Betel in gold and silver vessels was handed round to the ministers, each in turn according to his rank. The Sultan announced his decision in these words “Ministers of Semudera, it is indeed our pleasure to approve the proposal of our kinsman Sultan Maliku’l-Saleh, for he is of our own race”.

The next day the king ordered the palace to be decorated and the two young princesses to wear dresses of cloth-of-gold embroidered with precious stones. To his third daughter named Princess Genggang, the child of one of his secondary wives, he gave<sup>45</sup> a skirt of silk bandana-cloth, a jacket red in colour like the jambu flower<sup>46</sup>, rings studded with gems and ear-pendants that revolved. Princess Genggang sat on a high dais facing the people as they prepared the choice viands of the feast for the ministers and the women who had come from Semudera to arrange the marriage. When the crowd saw the three princesses, sisters one to another, their hearts warmed towards Princess Genggang. For of all of them she was the prettiest and most attractive in her ways. “Who is that sitting up there?” they asked, and the reply was “She also is the daughter of our king, but she is the child of a secondary wife”. When the feast was over [the visitors] begged leave of the king and returned to Semudera to consult Sultan Maliku’l-Saleh<sup>47</sup>.

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On their return to Semudera they told the king about their visit. They said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, it is true that the ruler of Perlak has three daughters. One of them is the child of a secondary wife. But in the opinion of your humble servants the prettiest is this child of the king's secondary wife; and it is she who is the most attractive in her ways and the most modest in her bearing. Moreover the place where she was put to sit seems to show that her status is much above that of her two sisters". When those who had visited Perlak had finished telling their story the Sultan ordered his astrologers to be summoned. The astrologers came and the Sultan said "Go, you astrologers. Look in your books of divination and see what is said about the daughters of the king of Perlak. Which is the best one to choose?".

The astrologers consulted their books of divination. They cast horoscopes<sup>48</sup>. They wagged their heads. Then they came and did obeisance saying "Your Highness, Lord of the Universe, if you accept<sup>49</sup> the princess who was sitting highest according to rank, then beyond doubt sovereignty shall pass without break to your children and grandchildren, and great shall be their good fortune."

Then the Sultan gave order for Princess Genggang to be fetched. The minister himself<sup>50</sup> set off for the land of Perlak with everything ready to welcome the princess. After many days at sea he reached the city of Perlak, where he and all the maids-in-waiting with him went before the Sultan and did obeisance. Then he said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, this is the petition of my master Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh, humbling himself at Your Highness's feet. He asks you for [the hand of] Princess Genggang". The king replied "Very well. We will grant him [the hand of] this child of ours". He ordered a fleet of a hundred sail to be made ready, with Tun Perpateh Pandak to be her escort<sup>51</sup>, to take Princess Genggang to Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*. He also ordered a palace to be built as a residence for the princess with her attendants, her slave-girls, her maids-of-honour and the royal suite. When everything was ready, on an auspicious day the king conducted his daughter to the river mouth to the accompaniment of much music. When they arrived there Princess Genggang did obeisance before her father, her mother and her two sisters, her tears flowing all the time. Her father, mother and sisters embraced and kissed her. Then Princess Genggang went on board the boat and sailed away. Sorrowfully the Sultan of Perlak returned to his palace.

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After many days at sea the fleet reached Jambu Ayer, where Tun Perpateh Pandak put in and took the princess to her palace. There she dressed herself in fine clothing. Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh came to welcome her. With full honour and ceremony he conducted her into the city of Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*. As soon as he arrived back in his palace he ordered the wedding festivities to be started. After they had been in progress for some days the king was duly married to Princess Genggang. ,

After the wedding the king gave presents of fine clothing to his chiefs. To the poor and needy of the city he distributed alms, pieces of gold and silver. To Tun Perpateh Pandak he gave robes of the finest material, and all the people who came with Tun Perpateh Pandak he rewarded with gold and silver. After the king had presented these favours Tun Perpateh Pandak begged his permission to return to Perlak. The king and queen sent their compliments to the king and queen [of Perlak] and to their two daughters, together with presents of fine robes<sup>52</sup>.

Then Tun Perpateh Pandak returned to Perlak. Now as for the palace which they had had built to provide a place for the princess to practise archery<sup>53</sup>, Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh ordered improvements to be made to it. The place he called Rama Gandi, a name by which it has been known up to the present time<sup>54</sup>.

After Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh had reigned for many years, there came [one day] a trading ship from the land of Kalinga<sup>55</sup>. On board was a man who had the power of detecting reefs of gold<sup>56</sup>. He said "In this country there are seven places where gold reefs come to the surface. But none of the inhabitants know them". Now there was a man from the Sultan's court who overheard what the man on the ship said. He reported it to Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh, and the Sultan ordered the man who had spoken thus to be fetched. When the man from Kalinga came before him the Sultan asked "Is what you have said true, that in this city there are reefs of gold?". Doing obeisance the man from Kalinga replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. If he were prospecting in his own country, your servant would have no doubt." When the Sultan heard what the man from Kalinga said he gave him a full set of clothing as was customary. He said "If your words are true go and fetch the gold from the place where these reefs are". The man from Kalinga did obeisance, then went off with a party of the Sultan's troops. Reaching the place he ordered them to dig up the ground. They found gold in great quantities, the product of some five mines<sup>57</sup>.

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It was brought before the Sultan, who was very pleased to become the possessor of so much gold<sup>58</sup>.

After Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh had reigned for some time the princess became pregnant; and when her hour had come she bore a son, an exceedingly handsome boy. The Sultan was overjoyed to see the royal child. He charged the most elderly of the palace attendants and nurses to look after him. He ordered the big drum to be beaten and music to be played at the celebrations which were the usual custom at the birth of princes. For seven days and seven nights the king led the festivities, in which everyone enjoyed himself eating and drinking to his heart's content. Then a day was appointed on which the infant prince would take his first steps and be shaved according to custom<sup>59</sup>. [On that day] the citizens, and the ministers and chiefs, all assembled for a feast. At its conclusion the king bestowed alms and gifts upon his ministers and his chiefs, the common folk great and small and all the poor and needy. To his son he gave the name of Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir. When the prince had reached years of discretion he was made a chief in Semudera<sup>60</sup>.

This is a story we have heard. One day Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh went out with his troops on a hunting trip along the sea shore. He took with him a hunting-dog named Si-Pasai. As soon as the king reached the shore he ordered the hunting-dog to be unleashed. The dog made for the forest which bordered the shore. There it saw a mousedeer standing on some high ground. The dog barked at the mousedeer and tried to catch it. When the mousedeer saw the dog<sup>61</sup> making towards it, it barked at the dog and the dog turned tail. Seeing the dog running away the mousedeer turned back. Then the dog, seeing the mousedeer going back, ran up to it and embraced it about seven times. The king was amazed to see a dog behaving in this way towards a mousedeer. He himself went [into the forest] wanting to catch the mousedeer on the high ground. But the mousedeer ran back and again the dog embraced it. The king said to those round him "Have you ever seen a mousedeer so full of spirit as this one? I think it must be the place it lives in that makes it so high-spirited". They all replied "Your Highness is undoubtedly right".

The king thought to himself "This is the right place for me to build a city where my son Maliku'l-Tahir shall become ruler<sup>62</sup>. Then Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh returned to his palace. The next day he issued a decree to his ministers, his chiefs, his people and his troops ordering them to clear the ground as a site for the new city, each doing the task suited to his station. And he ordered a palace to be built where the piece of high ground stood.

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After the foundation of the new city the hunting-dog Si-Pasai met his death in it. So the Sultan ordered the dog to be buried there, and its name he chose as the name of the city<sup>63</sup>. A decree was made that his son Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir would be ruler of the new city while Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh remained in Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*.

After Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir had ruled over Pasai for some years he was favoured by God the Exalted with the birth of two sons. The elder was named Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud, the younger Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. Now Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir fell sick, to the point when the judgement of God came upon him and he died<sup>64</sup>. He was buried with the traditional rites for rulers who have returned to the mercy of God. As the two princes were still young it was their grandfather who looked after<sup>65</sup> the affairs of Pasai, waiting for the time when they would both be old enough to do this themselves. The prince named Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud he entrusted to the care of Sayid [Ali] Ghiatu'd-din, bidding him teach the child the useful arts, fencing, elephant-riding and horsemanship<sup>66a</sup>. The other prince, named Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, he entrusted to Sayid Asmayu'd-din.

Several years passed. Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud grew to manhood and his grandfather made him ruler of Pasai. Sayed Ali Ghiatu'd-din was appointed his chief minister. Then the king divided his subjects, the regalia, the royal elephants, the horses and the armoury, all of these he divided into two parts. One half he gave to his grandson Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud. The other he kept for his other grandson Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, for Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur was still a child. Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud remained in the city of Pasai as its ruler, while Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh returned to Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*, taking Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur with him<sup>66</sup>.

Some time after this Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh fell sick. So he called together his ministers, his chiefs and court officials in the city and all the people great and small for the installation of Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. When they were all assembled before him the Sultan said "To all of you, ministers, chiefs and people of my armies I declare that it is my wish to make Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur [your] ruler. For I feel the time drawing near when I shall leave this mortal world for the world everlasting. What do you all think? Are you willing or not?". All the people answered "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, what Your Highness says is indeed right. Now that Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur has reached man's estate it is right that we should do obeisance to him". Then the king said "If that is so you must instal him,

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you ministers, chiefs and court officials, as ruler here over Semudera”

About three days after the installation Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh gave his last injunctions to Sayid Asmayu'd-din and Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din. He said “To you, the two chief ministers, I say this. Take good care of both my grandchildren. May it please God the Exalted [to grant] that you allow no discord to arise between the two brothers, and that you bring them up in the way they should go. May neither of you swerve from your allegiance to them, nor bow the knee to any rulers but my grandchildren. Above all, do not behave unjustly towards any of the servants of God, nor do anything which is contrary to the commandments of God. For in the *Qur'an* is written the decree of God the Exalted which says “Whosoever orders anything which transgresses any of the commandments which God has set down, that man will most surely lapse into unbelief”.

Then the two ministers fell on their knees and bowed their heads. Their tears fell as they answered “Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, Shadow of God on earth, by the grace of God the Exalted the Lord of All Creation, may it please God the Exalted that we your humble servants may never act in any way contrary to the instructions of Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. And may we never bow the knee to any rulers but the two grandchildren of Your Highness whom it is our duty to serve”.

The Sultan then sent for his two grandchildren. When the princes had come he<sup>67</sup> addressed them in these words: ‘My grandchildren, be it known to you both that I am stricken with sickness, so that I feel the time fast approaching when God the Exalted shall summon me to leave this mortal world for the world everlasting. When I have departed, pay great attention, both of you, to the duty you have of enjoining good and eschewing evil. Do not covet material wealth, for this world is one full of vanity<sup>68</sup>. Do not hanker after things which will be of no value to you in the world to come. Do not fail to consult one another in everything that you do. Above all, do one another no wrong, so that God the Exalted may establish and confirm you both as rulers of your lands, and may grant all that you pray for concerning your wealth<sup>69</sup>. Do not disobey any of the commandments of God. Be not backward in doing acts of good service, but avoid acts of wickedness. Command all men to do that which is right. Firbid them to do that which is wrong. Treat your subjects, both of you, with justice. Whatever happens do not fail to follow these injunctions of mine, my grandchildren<sup>70</sup>’.

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The two princes fell on their knees and wept. They said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, all the greater are the favours which you have bestowed upon the two of us, your humble servants, in as much as you have blessed us with this advice". Now it came to pass by the decree of God the Exalted that there was an interval of three days after the king had spoken these words of advice to his grandchildren. Then after embracing and kissing them he returned to the mercy of God the Exalted. He was buried with the customary rites for kings when they have returned to the mercy of God. For that reason he has been known up to the present time as *Paduka Sayid al-Marhum Semudera*<sup>71</sup>. Then Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud reigned in Pasai and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur in Semudera. The two settlements were well-populated, and prosperous<sup>72</sup> indeed were their inhabitants . . . elephants and *j.n.h.l.m.* . . . horses . . . for food, and other commodities<sup>73</sup> in quantities past counting in the days of the two brother-kings.

As time went on the greatness and renown of Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud grew and grew. News of it reached the king of Siam. Then the king of Siam commanded that a fleet should be made ready, in all some hundred boats large and small, to attack the city of Pasai. When the expedition had been fitted out the king ordered the most senior among his chiefs, a man named Talak Sejang, to be put in command of it. The fleet sailed for Pasai, and soon afterwards reached the bay of Pasai.

As soon as the people on shore caught sight of this huge concourse of boats riding at anchor in the bay they at once brought the news to Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud. They said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your servants have seen a fleet of boats, seemingly in vast numbers, riding at anchor in the bay. Who can tell whence they may have come or what they mean to do?". Then the Sultan said to one of his chiefs, whose name was Barang Laksmana, "Barang Laksmana, go and look at the boats". Barang Laksmana did obeisance and at once went out. When he reached the vessels he asked "From what place have these boats come? Where are you going? And what do you intend to do?". The men on board told him "As for these vessels<sup>74</sup> of ours they come from the land of Siam, and as for our intention we are ordered by the king of Siam to demand tribute from this city. Give us what we want and we shall return home taking the tribute with us. Refuse and we shall attack this land of yours. Talak Sejang is the name of our commander<sup>75</sup>".

Quickly Barang Laksmana went back to the Sultan. Doing obeisance he said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, those

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boats have come from the land of Siam. Talak Sejang is the name of the commander. The king of Siam has ordered them here to demand tribute from our city. If his demand is met they will return home. If it is refused he will make war on us".

When the Sultan heard these words he flew into a rage. His face grew dark<sup>76</sup>, his hair bristled as he spoke to Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din ordering him to assemble his ministers, his chiefs, captains and troops fully armed to await the enemy's landing. When they were all ready the Sultan addressed these words to them "By the honour and might of God who has created all worlds, so far from giving [our enemies] the tribute of this land, I will not let them have even a single strand of useless hair shed from my body".

The Sultan's words came to the ears of Talak Sejang, who thereupon ordered his men ashore to put up earthworks. His chiefs and his men landed and established themselves in a fortified line by the edge of the sea. Three days later the Sultan ordered his forces to attack. They ran forward, the two sides met and the fighting began. The first day it was Barang Laksmama who led the attack. Many were the men on both sides killed and injured. Then both sides withdrew into their defences. The next day it was Tun Rawan Permatang who led the troops, with two elephants named Dola Laut and Muda Besi. The struggle between the opposing sides was widespread and fierce. Again there were many on both sides killed and injured before they disengaged. That is how the fighting went day after day without ceasing, for a period of about two months. Tun Rawan Permatang was wounded and so was Barang Laksmama.

Then one day it was Tun Aria Jong who led the attack. When the two sides met in battle Tun Aria Jong's troops broke and fled back to their defences. Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud was furious when he saw what was happening. He ordered all his subjects great and small to be conscripted, until everyone of them capable of bearing arms was under arms. Then the Sultan himself went out and led the attack on Talak Sejang. Talak Sejang too led his troops out of his defences onto the battlefield where they stood drawn up in lines. The two armies were face to face when fighting broke out over the whole field. The uproar was deafening. A pall of dust<sup>77</sup> rose to the sky, until the eye could no longer distinguish one person from another. Only the noise of the chiefs and the men shouting could be heard. The crash of arms echoed in the depths of the forest. The violence of the conflict was shattering. Many were the men on both sides killed and injured.

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The [enemy] commander Talak Sejang received an arrow in his chest. It went right through his body and killed him. The war-cries of the Pasai troops sounded like thunder. Then the men of Siam took to their heels and ran hither and thither, not heeding where they went. Those who fled inland were all slaughtered by the men of Pasai. Those who escaped to the sea eventually reached their boats and sailed away in the direction<sup>78</sup> of Siam.

Victorious and full of joy the Sultan returned to his palace. From that time on Pasai was a populous and rich country. The Sultan spent his time feasting and making merry with his ministers, his chiefs and his court officials. The people of the country made it their home. After Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud had reigned for some time he was favoured by God with the birth of a son and two daughters. The boy he named Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal<sup>78a</sup>.

One day Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud said to his chiefs and ministers "I would like to go on holiday up the river, to look at the villages and hamlets while we spend our time elephant-trapping and hunting, until we reach the land of Andemi<sup>79</sup>. On an auspicious day Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud set off in company with his ministers, his chiefs and his troops. On and on went the king, thoroughly enjoying his holiday. He passed through the cities and hamlets, amusing himself by entertaining his ministers with feasting and merrymaking.

Now according to the story we have heard there came a time, while Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud was on his travels, when Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur also wished to go off on holiday and entertain his ministers, his chiefs and his people with feasting and merrymaking. So Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ordered his men to get everything ready to accompany him<sup>80</sup>. But Sayid Asmayu'd-din pleaded with him "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, what is Your Highness's purpose in going on holiday to the coast? Now that Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud is no longer in Pasai, if you go near the confines of your brother's domain<sup>81</sup> and this becomes known, people may cast all sorts of mischievous aspersions<sup>82</sup>. Should they reach your brother's ears there will only be trouble to follow".

But Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur would not listen to Sayid Asmayu'd-din's words. He went on holiday to the coast, entertaining his ministers and chiefs with feasting and merrymaking. On their way back they passed close to Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud's residence. There Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur noticed a woman of

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surpassing beauty coming out of the palace. At once he conceived a passion for her. He ordered the woman to be abducted and taken back to his palace in company with his chiefs. (Now after Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur had reigned for some time he was favoured by God (Glory be to Him the Exalted) with the birth of three children, two daughters and one son)<sup>83</sup>.

A little later the news reached Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud that Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur had abducted a woman [as she was] coming out of his palace. When Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud heard what had happened he was very angry with Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, and with Sayid Asmayu'd-din too for he was the chief minister and the eldest of those in attendance on the king. But he had refused to restrain the king from doing the things his nature prompted. [Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud] said "I shall not rest satisfied until I have killed [Sayid] Asmayu'd-din"<sup>84</sup>. He returned to his palace, his heart full of spite against Sayid Asmayu'd-din<sup>85</sup>.

Now Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din was getting on in years<sup>86</sup>, and his son-in-law named Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara<sup>87</sup> was acting as chief minister in his place. Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud said to him "Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara, what do you propose we do with Sayid Asmayu'd-din? For I fear that Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur may cause trouble if he should oppose us". Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara answered "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if we arrange a certain deception there will be no trouble for anyone. Quietly I can take [him] prisoner". "How can we arrange it?", asked the Sultan. [The Minister] replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your child Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal has not yet been circumcised. Let us now make preparations for this to be done. We will summon your brother Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur to be present. Once he has arrived we can do what we like with him. The plan is simplicity itself".

The king agreed with Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara's plan. On an auspicious day he ordered a start to be made with the preparations for the circumcision of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal. Then he sent word summoning his brother Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur to come to Semudera *Daru'l-Islam*<sup>88</sup>. The messenger left, and when he reached Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur he said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your brother cordially invites you to come to Pasai as it is his intention to have his son circumcised. So Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur set out and made his way to Pasai.

When he reached Pasai he went in to see his brother Sultan Malik'l-Mahmud while his chief waited

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outside. No sooner had he appeared before Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud than the latter gave a signal for the arrest of Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur and his chiefs. Sayid Asmayu'd-din was also seized. Then the order was given to put Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur and his chiefs in prison, and Sayid Asmayu'd-din as well. Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud turned the matter over in his mind, then he said to Perpatih Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara "What shall we do with Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur? Had we better banish him from our land, or bid him return to his own land?" Tun Perpatih Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if Your Highness will listen to your servant's plea, it were better that we banish him from this land of ours. For as our elders say "Out of sight, out of mind". As long as he remains near at hand, the thing he has done must necessarily be the source of much annoyance to Your Highness<sup>89</sup>, so that Your Highness cannot help becoming more and more incensed at his conduct. That being so let us send him to a land far away from here".

So the Sultan ordered four or five boats to be made ready to take Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur to the land of Temiang<sup>90</sup>, with Tun Jaya Pangliran<sup>91</sup> to look after him. Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur was taken on board<sup>92</sup> with all his belongings and his slaves and followers. And forthwith they sailed away.

Then the Sultan commanded that [Sayid] Asmayu'd-din be let out of prison. He was brought before the Sultan who said "[Sayid] Asmayu'd-din, do you wish to remain here with me or not?" The minister did obeisance and replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. If I your humble servant am to be severed from my master may it please Your Highness to sever my head from my body". So the Sultan ordered him to be beheaded, and he was beheaded. His head the Sultan ordered to be thrown into the sea, and his body to be impaled on a stake at Kuala Pasai<sup>93</sup>.

Now it came about by the decree of God the Exalted that the head of Sayid Asmayu'd-din followed Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur's boat in the sea. In due course the Sultan arrived at the anchorage at Jambu Ayer. When the boat had come to anchor the master heard a drumming sound coming from the rudder<sup>94</sup>. He looked down over the water and saw a human skull caught in the rudder. At once he took the news to Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. The Sultan ordered the skull to be lifted on board. Then he saw that it was the head of Sayid Asmayu'd-din. "For shame," he cried, "This is none other than the head of my old friend Sayid Asmayu'd-din. How should I know what providence brings you here or where your body is now?". He ordered

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a search to be made for the body. A boat set out to look for it, and it was seen impaled on a stake at Kuala Pasai. At once the news was taken to Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, and he had word sent to Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud asking [to be allowed to take the body]. He was told that he could have it. They brought it to Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, and when they laid it before him he saw that it was indeed the body [he sought]. And he shed tears of great bitterness.

Then he joined the head and the body together. The corpse he bathed and placed in a shroud. Having done this he recited burial prayers over it, and then went ashore and buried it in the ground. He declared that the name of the place was to be Padang Maya. But we do not know for certain whether it is because of the corpse buried there that people have called the place Padang Maya to the present day<sup>95</sup>. After the body of Sayid Asmayu'd-din had been interred Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur recited the exhortation to the dead<sup>96</sup> and said the burial prayers<sup>97</sup>. Then he returned to his boat which continued its journey to the land of Temiang. And there he made his home<sup>98</sup>.

Time passed on. One day Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud was sitting on his throne with his captains, his ministers and all his people before him. Suddenly a thought entered his mind—Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur his brother — and he cried out “Alas, what a fool I have been<sup>99</sup>. All because of a woman I drove my brother from his kingdom, and his chief minister I put to death”. Conscience-stricken he burst into tears. To his captains he said “Go at once and fetch my brother. Above all I am stirred by a great longing [to see] him again”.

At the king's bidding Tun Perpatch Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara set out in a fleet of boats. When he came before Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur he did obeisance and said “Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your brother is stirred by a great longing [to see] Your Highness again. I your humble servant am ordered by him to invite Your Highness to return”. The king replied “Very well”. Tun Perpatch said “So let it be. May it please Your Highness to come aboard”. Then the king went and embarked on the boat, with his wife and children, his worldly possessions and all his slaves and followers. Leaving the shores of Temiang he sailed for Pasai.

When they reached Padang Maya where [Sayid] Asmayu'd-din was buried Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur called at his tomb, for he wished to recite the *fatiha*<sup>100</sup> and say a prayer. When he had recited the *fatiha* the king stood up and pronounced a blessing

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at the side of the tomb. These were his words "Peace be upon you, O people of the Faithful<sup>101</sup>. We, if God wills, will join you" Then he said "Rest in peace, my sire. I will go now". And a voice answered him from inside the tomb "Unto you also be peace, my child. But where are you going? This is the place where you should be".

The Sultan heard the voice and at once fetched water to wash himself before prayer. Then he said a first prayer and a blessing. He began a second<sup>102</sup>, but had not reached the end of the blessing when the judgement of God came upon him and the Angel of Death claimed his soul. So he returned to the mercy of God the Exalted, at the very moment when he was making his vows, prostrating himself on the ground<sup>103</sup>.

Everyone was astonished to see the [fate of the] king. Tun Perpatih Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara ordered a message to be taken to Pasai telling Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud what had happened to him. As soon as they arrived the messengers told the story of the king's death from beginning to end. When Sultan [Maliku'l-] Mahmud heard the news about his brother he flung himself on the ground and tore his coat to shreds. Then he collapsed in a faint. For the space of about one hour he lay unconscious. When he recovered he ordered the body of his brother to be brought to him. People left at once to carry it back. Some time later the body reached Pasai, and the king gave it burial following the ritual prescribed by custom for rulers who have returned to the mercy of God<sup>104</sup>, near the grave of his father<sup>105</sup>.

Now Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud was filled with sorrow. His remorse, his feelings of penitence gave him no respite. In due course he abdicated the throne and made Sultan Ahmad ruler of Pasai. It was some while later, during the reign of Sultan Ahmad, the Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud fell sick. The time drew near when he would be leaving this mortal world for the world everlasting. So he laid his last injunctions upon Sultan Ahmad. These were his words. "My son, light of my eyes and fruit of my heart, take good care that while you are ruler you fulfil all the commandments given you by God and His Prophet, and that you eschew the things which are forbidden by them. Do not transgress the commandments of God the Exalted or the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad the Apostle of God (May God bless him and give him peace). My child, you must not fail to heed well the counsel I am giving you. When there is anything you wish to do you must consult the eldest among your ministers. Do not hastily embark on any course of action. Only when you

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have agreed upon it with your ministers and chiefs may you proceed with it. So conduct yourself that you are always on your guard against the things which are not in accordance with Holy Law. Do not oppress or despoil the servants of God the Exalted by unjust treatment. Do not be backward in enjoining good and eschewing evil<sup>106</sup>, my child. For this mortal world will pass away and only the world to come will last for ever. Above all, my child, may you never disobey these injunctions of mine”.

Sultan Ahmad bowed his head and prostrated himself in obeisance. He shed many tears. Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud's sickness grew worse as time went on, and he returned to the mercy of God. The young prince and the ministers and chiefs buried him by the side of the mosque. Following the established custom for rulers who returned to the mercy of God, the prince had a mausoleum<sup>107</sup> made for him like those of former times. And Sultan Ahmad came to the throne<sup>108</sup>.

### Part Two. The Adventures of Tun Beraim Bapa.

After Sultan Ahmad had reigned for some time there came one day a ship from the land of Kalinga. Travelling in this ship from Kalinga was a man who practiced yoga<sup>109</sup>. He was possessed of great supernatural power. The men on board came ashore, and into the presence of Sultan Ahmad they led the yogi, who was carrying a walking-stick. The yogi thrust the walking-stick into the ground in front of Sultan Ahmad. Then he rested his chin on the stick and it started moving, twisting itself into four loops<sup>110</sup>. Then he thrust the stick<sup>111</sup> into a wooden board and again it moved, writhing and twisting this way and that<sup>112</sup>. Then, overcome by the sanctity of the Sultan's presence, the yogi fell to the ground in a faint. The Sultan was amazed to see what had happened to him in spite of his deep knowledge of the magic arts. Afterwards the yogi embraced the faith of Islam, and it was he who gave Sultan Ahmad the name of Perumudal Perumal<sup>113</sup>.

During the course of his reign the king was blessed by God (Glory be to Him the Exalted) with thirty children. There were five by one mother: three sons, the first named Tun Beraim Bapa<sup>113a</sup>, the second Tun Abdul Jalil, the third Tun Abu'l-Fazil; and two daughters, one named Tun Madam Peria, the other Tun Takiah Dara<sup>113b</sup>.

Here is a story that is told about Tun Beraim Bapa, according to a tradition we have heard. Tun Beraim Bapa was a very fine swordsman, a champion without peer in those days.

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He was seven cubits in height. His chest was two cubits broad. An earth rampart forty feet<sup>114</sup> thick he could smash to pieces by hurling a spear<sup>115</sup> at it. Reports of his fame reached the land of Kalinga.

As for Tun Abdul Jalil he was so handsome that at that time none other could match his looks. When he stood at the outer gate of the palace<sup>116</sup> the gate reflected his splendour. When he stood on the *lepau*, (that part of the balcony) called *dalkhana*<sup>117</sup>, it also seemed bright with his glory. When he stood in the market-place the whole market perforce shone with the radiance of his person. If he dressed in Javanese costume he looked like a man of Java. If he dressed in Siamese costume he looked like a man of Siam. If in the costume of Kalinga he looked like a man of Kalinga. If in the costume of Arabia, like an Arab. His renown spread to Java and became known to Princess Gemenrang the daughter of the king of Majapahit<sup>117a</sup>.

As for Tun Abu'l-Fazil he was a profound scholar, well read in all branches of knowledge. Many were the learned men from the west who came to put questions to him. But he was never at a loss for an answer, so great was his wisdom. His fame spread as far as the land of Samarkand<sup>118</sup>.

Now Tun Madam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara, the two daughters of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal, were so beautiful that in those days none could match them. The chief ministers of Sultan Ahmad were four in number; the first Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara, the second Baba Mentuah, the third Suleiman Dendang Ayer, the fourth Tun Shah Alam Kota<sup>118a</sup>. It happened that the Sultan conceived a passion for his two daughters Tun Madam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara. One day Sultan Ahmad was sitting in state with his ministers and chiefs before him when he asked them this question "If a man spends his time planting crops, who should have the first claim to eat what has been grown?". Tun (Perpateh) Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara returned answer "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if it were we, your humble servants, who had spent our time planting crops it were right that another should have first claim to eat what had been grown. And great indeed would be our merit in giving first choice to another". For Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara had understood the king's innuendo. But Baba Mentuah replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if it were we, your servants, who had spent our time planting crops, we also should have first claim to eat what had been grown", for Baba Mentuah did not understand the meaning of the king's words.

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When the Sultan heard Baba Mentuah's reply he was angry with Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara. Then one day<sup>119</sup> the chief minister told a maid to let Tun Madam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara know what the Sultan had said to his chiefs. Tun Madam Peria had word sent to her brother Tun Beraim [Bapa] at Tukas. At the time Tun Beraim Bapa was living at Tukas. But no sooner did the news reach him than he went straight to Pasai. Going into Sultan Ahmad's palace he at once removed his two sisters and took them back with him to Tukas. So the Sultan bore a grudge against Tun Beraim Bapa, angry that he had taken his two sisters to Tukas.

Soon after this happened there arrived from the land of Kalinga a ship of great size. On board were four buccaneers<sup>120</sup> whose prowess nobody in their own country could match. One of their number was a magnificent fighter, in skill and courage far surpassing his comrades. They came to the city of Pasai wanting to pick a fight. When the ship reached the harbour at Pasai it was brought to anchor at Telok Teria. Going ashore the newcomers met one of the inhabitants. So they asked the man of Telok Teria "What are the things which in this city it is lawful only for the ruler to do?". The man of Telok Teria replied "The only thing which may not be done, except by the king himself, is to sit in the big audience-hall<sup>121</sup> at the royal park and to undo one's hair, with legs dangling and swinging from side to side. This is forbidden in this place". When the buccaneers heard this they said "Very well. That is exactly what we will do". They made their way to Pasai and into the park. When they occupied the big audience-hall they crowded it out, and when they occupied the guest-room they packed it tight,<sup>122</sup> as they sat letting down their hair with their legs dangling and swinging from side to side.

People saw them doing this and at once went and told Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara. He in turn ordered the news to be taken to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai<sup>122a</sup>, and these two courtiers<sup>123</sup> at once passed the word to Bujangga Baja Raya. Then Bujangga Baja Raya brought the matter before the king. He said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, we have been visited by certain people from abroad. Their leader is a champion warrior<sup>124</sup> from Kalinga who has come here to pick a fight. For in his own country there is no one to match him in cudgel and dagger play.<sup>125</sup> They are sitting at the big audience-hall and in the guest-room undoing their hair, with their legs swinging from side to side". Sultan Ahmad ordered Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go both of you to Tukas and take word to my son Tun Beraim Bapa".

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The two courtiers went to Tun Beraim Bapa at Tukas and said to him "Your Highness, your father has received a visit from certain people from abroad. Their leader is a champion warrior from Kalinga who has come here to pick a fight. For in his own country there is no one to match him in cudgel and dagger play. Occupying the big audience-hall they crowd it out; occupying the guest-room they pack it tight, as they sit undoing their hair with their legs swinging from side to side. Your father has ordered that Your Highness be informed of this". Tun Beriam Bapa answered "Give my respects to His Highness, Lord of the Realm, [and say] that to-morrow I will present myself before him". The two men went back and reported to the king what his son had said.

Then Tun Beriam Bapa said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar<sup>125a</sup> "Go both of you to my lord of Barah Bukit<sup>126</sup> and call my old friend the *Pendikar* of Pulau Kukur. Then go to Bangka and call my friend the *Pendikar* of Bangka. Then to Langgar to call my friend the champion of Langgar. Call my brothers in arms Malik Akasan and Ali the *Pendikar* of Kampong China, and Tun Bijaya Pangiran<sup>126a</sup>, and Rawana Permatang with their fighting-men. Bring them back with you". So Perman Isap and Orang Tikar went away and called these champions and *Pendikar*. They all came hotfoot, albeit with angry looks and dark frowns on their faces. They said "Your Highness, how long have we your servants been at hand with never a call like this? Even were there murder to be done surely the matter could have waited a while".

Tun Beraim Bapa replied "Listen all of you, my old friends and brothers in arms, I have sent word to call you together because His Highness has received a visit from certain foreigners. Their leader is a champion warrior from Kalinga who has come here to pick a fight. For in his own country there is no one to match him in cudgel and dagger play. Occupying the big audience-hall they crowd it out, occupying the guest-room they pack it tight, as they sit undoing their hair with their legs swinging from side to side". When Tun Beraim Bapa's men had heard what he said they all replied "Your Highness, if the Lord the Creator of All Worlds be on our side, by the will of God the Exalted we shall be the ones to meet the challenge of their leader, this champion warrior from Kalinga".

Thereupon Tun Beraim Bapa said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar, "Go, my old friends, both of you and fetch some sand, one bale<sup>127</sup> each". They went off to fetch the sand. But so far

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from carrying back a bale each they could not manage even five basketfuls between them. So Tun Beraim Bapa himself went down to the shore to fetch the sand. He carried it back and measured it, putting a bale on his right and a bale on his left, just to relieve his feelings. Yet so far from tiring him out, this did not even make him perspire.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar "My friends, call Wasat Makam and Wasat Perak<sup>127a</sup> to me". In a moment they came, and Tun Beraim Bapa said to them "Wasat Makam and Wasat Perak, [go and] beat the battle-drum and sound the war clarion. I am going to have a game with my masters and my old friends". So the two of them beat the battle-drum and sounded the war clarion. At the same time Tun Beraim [Bapa] beat a drum with hand and stick, just to relieve his feelings. Yet so far from tiring him out this did not even make him perspire.

The Sultan, hearing the noise of the battle-drum, was startled out of his sleep. He cried to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap:

Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window!  
 Awake thou! Awake!  
 Child of those who cast their bodies  
 Into death fire for their chieftain!<sup>128</sup>  
 Thou art guardian of my women,  
 Thou entitled Tun Derma 'dikara.<sup>128a</sup>  
 Why dost thou not awake?  
 Dost thou not hear the thudding  
 Of the battle-drum at Tukas,  
 Beaten thudding thud upon thud

At first dawn, while the moon is still bright?

On such a night, whence can an enemy have come upon us?  
 How many are they perchance? And who can<sup>129</sup> be their leader?" Roused suddenly from her sleep Dara Zulaikha Tingkap jumped up. She was wearing nothing over her shoulders. Her hair was undone and lay in tangles strewn with rose petals, as she replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, why<sup>130</sup> do you call me at the first light of dawn, when to-night the moon has been shining brightly in the south?<sup>131</sup> At such an hour people are sound asleep".

But the king said:  
 "Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window!  
 Thou entitled Tun Derma 'dikara.  
 Dost thou not hear the thudding  
 of the battle-drum at Tukas  
 Beaten thudding thud upon thud

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At first dawn<sup>132</sup> while the moon is still bright?  
 On such a night whence can an enemy have come upon us?  
 How many are they perchance? And who can their leader be?  
 Tell the men outside the palace to see who is there and who is not?"

Then Tun Derma 'dikara of the window roused herself and questioned the men outside the palace. Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai said "Here we all are outside the palace, the royal servants; Bujangga Baja Raya and Malik Suleiman and Shah Alam Kota<sup>132a</sup>, all are outside the palace". Zulaikha of the window said to them "Do you not hear the thudding of the battle-drum at Tukas being beaten again and again, at dawn while the moon is still bright? On such a night whence can an enemy have come upon us? How many are they perchance? And who can be their leader? Find out what is happening".

So Bermamat Pantai [and Medan Pantai] went off to Tukas to see what was afoot. They found Tun Beraim Bapa having a game with his instructors and his captains. At once the two men came back from Tukas. On their return they told Derma 'dikara of the window "We have just arrived back from Tukas. There is no enemy at all. It is just that Tun Beraim Bapa is having a game with his instructors and his captains, joking and frolicking with them". Dara Zulaikha Tingkap went in and said to the king "There is no enemy at all. It is just that Tun Beraim Bapa is joking and frolicking with his captains". Then Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal answered Dara Zulaikha [Tingkap] "Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window, thou who art worthy to be called noble, this is the wish of my heart. Be careful that thou dost not reveal it to anyone at all. If I do not put this Beraim Bapa to death, may my kingdom come to an end and may I never embrace the delights of heaven".

— When daybreak came Tun Beraim Bapa said to his *bendahari*<sup>133</sup>, whose name was Dara Sipir, "Ho! Dara Sipir, grind up for me some face powder and squeeze the juice from a lime. I am going to bathe with my old friends and my instructors". So Dara Sipir opened a chest and took out<sup>134</sup> a grinder. She squeezed the juice from a lime and mixed it with *kejamas*<sup>135</sup>. Tun Beriam and his friends made up their faces with powder and lime-juice. Then they all made their way to the river Sempang. When Tun Beriam Bapa had finished bathing he returned to his palace. There he had a chest opened and the clothing take out of it, so that he could provide his friends, his comrades and his captains with the finest costumes.

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Next, Tun Beriam Bapa put on his new attire; a cloth of fine yellow silk *lia ben-ben*. with the back in iridescent colours, the border neatly worked in gold thread with a trellis pattern of *d.kar[a]* gold, the fringe decorated with tinkling bells: a coat shimmering like the rays of the sun, sewn with *meg*. buttons encased in gold and bespangled with myriads of scarlet gems: a headcloth the colour of *china kepaluan* with jewel-encrusted edges of gold and fringes of pearls: a shining waist-belt and armlets; bracelets in the form of dragons, [their bodies] in seven coils; a *keris* inlaid with precious stones mounted in a scabbard of gold. A sash held the sword which could flash like lightning. He wore a jewelled guard of *n.k.s.* and had a golden bow slung from his left shoulder<sup>186</sup>.

He was a handsome sight as he bore himself with dauntless pride and uttered gentle words, like a tiger without fear. Then, escorted by his party of captains and instructors before him, he strode off to vanquish the champion warriors. Matchless was his gleaming bow, his coat flashed in all the colours of the rainbow, his javelin looked as if studded [with gems]. The leaders reached the outer gate and went inside the palace grounds. When the Sultan saw so many people coming in he was startled. He cried out in alarm to Dara Zulaikha "Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window. Go and see who are all those people coming in". Dara Zulaikha sent word to see [what was happening at] the outer gate, and the leaders of Tun Beraim Bapa's party were observed. So she said to the king "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is nothing amiss. It is only the leaders of Tun Beraim Bapa's party who have come in".

Tun Beraim Bapa arrived at the outer gate. There he said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar "My friends, go both of you to my old foster-mother Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, who is called the noble (Tun) Derma, and tell her to ask on my behalf for the horse called *Semberani* which was born of a Persian sire<sup>187</sup>". So they went to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap and said "Tun Derma 'dikara, please lay before His Highness, the Lord of the Realm, the petition of Tun Beraim Bapa who asks for the horse called *Semberani* which was born of a Persian sire". Then Dara Zulaikha Tingkap went into the Sultan's presence and did obeisance. She said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, Tun Beraim Bapa asks for the horse *k.l.k. k.l. abu*<sup>188</sup> *Semberani* which was born of a Persian sire". The Sultan replied "Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window, that horse is one I can find no way to bridle. No man has ever ridden him, for he is uncontrollable<sup>189</sup>. But if my son Beraim Bapa wishes to mount the horse give it to him at once with bridle and saddle".

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Then Dara Zulaikha Tingkap ordered the horse to be brought out and given with bridle and saddle to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar. Immediately the two men fetched the horse and took it to Tun Beraim Bapa. The Sultan went into the park to see Tun Beraim Bapa putting it through its paces. When Tun Beraim Bapa saw the Sultan coming he stood facing him and, mindful of the duty he was undertaking, bowed to the ground. The Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Tell my son Beraim Bapa that I order him to mount the horse in the presence of the foreigners whose leader is a champion warrior from Kalinga. He is to make the horse gallop to Tukas". Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai took the king's message to Tun Beraim Bapa. They said "Your Highness, your father says you are to mount the horse in the presence of the foreigners whose leader is a champion warrior from Kalinga".

Tun Beraim Bapa did obeisance to the Sultan. Then he jumped on the horse's back and, spurring it to action, made it prance round the park. Then, remembering again his duty to the Sultan which he had called to mind as he was about to mount the horse, he once more spurred it on — and lo, it rose into the sky. Urging it on he headed it in the direction of Tukas. In a moment it vanished out of sight of the Sultan. Bursting into tears the Sultan said "Alas, my son has vanished. Where, oh where shall I look for him? He would not heed my words when I told him that the horse was uncontrollable. It has never been ridden by anyone". Then suddenly, in a flash, there was Tun Beraim Bapa in front of the Sultan, making the horse prance like a strutting peacock. The Sultan was amazed to see the stallion wild as a rogue elephant.

Then the Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go and tell my son Beraim Bapa that he is to [give a display of] fencing to the music of the drum in front of the foreigners whose leader is a champion warrior from Kalinga. He must rid me of my shame". Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai took the Sultan's message to Tun Beraim [Bapa]. They said "His Highness says that you must [give a display of] fencing to the music of the drum in front of the foreigners whose leader is a champion warrior from Kalinga". Tun Beraim Bapa replied "If that is what His Highness wants I beg the favour of a sword and a shield". The two men went back to the Sultan and said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your son begs the favour of a sword and a shield". The Sultan said to the two men "Go both of you and fetch the swords and the shields. Bring them here. My son shall take any one of the swords and shields he likes". The two men went at once and fetched all the swords and shields, which

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they brought before the Sultan. Then Tun Beraim Bapa did obeisance to the Sultan and proceeded to take his pick of the swords and shields. He chose a sword which was much larger than the rest, and also a shield much larger than the others. Then he bowed to the Sultan and went down to the park. As he was leaving he rolled up his skirt. With his right hand he grasped the handle of his sword, with his left he held up his shield.

Drums were beaten with hand and stick and the clarion sounded<sup>140</sup>. The noise was like a peal of thunder. Tun Beriam Bapa turned towards<sup>141</sup> one of his instructors, the champion of Kampong Bedil, and fenced to the tune called *Anyam*<sup>142</sup>. Then he challenged another of his instructors, *Pendikar Ali* of Pulau Kukur, this time fencing to a tune of great sweetness called *Puspa Ragam*. Again he challenged another of his instructors, the champion of Kampong Bangka, who threw into the air a hard coconut. Tun Beraim Bapa slashed at the coconut and split it in two. One half vanished out of sight, the other fell to the ground with the water still in the shell. Yet again Tun Beraim Bapa challenged another of his instructors, the champion of Kampong Langgar, who threw into the air an areca nut. He slashed at it and cut it in two, one half vanishing out of sight, the other falling to the ground. Once more he challenged one of his instructors<sup>143</sup>, *Pendikar Ali* of Kampong China, who held down an areca palm for him. Tun Beraim Bapa cut through the trunk [so swiftly that] it did not fall. Only when a gust of wind came did the trunk fall, breaking into four pieces.

Tun Beriam Bapa jumped one pace to the right and one pace to the left, brandishing<sup>144</sup> his shield. And lo, the shield vanished from sight, leaving his left hand *kiam.n*<sup>145</sup>. He waved his sword and the blade disappeared, leaving only the handle in his right hand. Then Tun Beraim Bapa prostrated himself and did obeisance to the Sultan, and his friends did likewise. When the foreigners from Kalinga saw the prowess of Tun Beraim Bapa they were amazed and covered with confusion. Chins trembling, they looked like chickens who are afraid of the hawk. They exclaimed to each other "Never<sup>146</sup> in our lives have we seen a human being doing the things that this man Tun Beraim Bapa does. So far from our standing up to him in a fight, we feel afraid even to look him in the eyes".

The Sultan said "Come, you champions of Kalinga, and take on these captains and fencers of mine". But the champions of Kalinga held their peace. Hanging their heads in shame they returned to their ship and sailed away. The Sultan said to Tun Beraim Bapa "Breath of my life and light of my eyes, take your

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upriver people home with you". Then he returned to his palace. Tun Beraim [Bapa] went back in company with his upriver people, his instructors and old friends and comrades. They spent their time in feasting and fun all the way to Tukas. There they took leave of Tun Beraim Bapa and returned each to his own home.

It was on a Friday<sup>146a</sup> some time later that Tun Beraim Bapa went to Pasai on holiday. Entering the Sultan's domain he went up the steps to the *lepau*, that is, the balcony of the palace<sup>147</sup>. There he saw Tun Fatimah Lempau, whose title was Temian Layangan<sup>148</sup>, making a wreath of flowers with [Daral] Zulaikha. She was one of Sultan Ahmad's inferior wives. "Ho! My lady Fatimah Lempau, for whom are you making that wreath?" asked Tun Beraim Bapa. "For the mosque", she answered. When Tun Beraim Bapa heard what she said he came and stood leaning against a pillar of the *dalkhana*<sup>149</sup>. When Tun Fatimah had completed the wreath she stood up and leaping forward ran with it into the palace. Tun Beraim Bapa was annoyed and ran after her trying to stop her. He had just caught hold of the corner of her dress when his shoulder came into collision with a door in the palace and he reeled backwards.

The Sultan was jolted out of his slumber in the royal bed-chamber. Now the palace had nineteen bays, and the girth of each of its pillars was as broad as a man can embrace. The Sultan was startled, the chamber shaking as from an earthquake. He called for Dara Zulaikha Tingkap and said "Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window, what was that that made the palace shake? Who knows but that it may be an earthquake?" Dara Zulaikha went outside and saw Tun Beraim Bapa trying to catch Tun Fatimah Lempau. She returned into the Sultan's presence and said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is nothing the matter. It is only your son flirting with Tun Fatimah Lempau. Tun Beraim Bapa's shoulder collided with a door in the palace".

The Sultan was furious. He said to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap:

"Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window!  
Thou entitled Tun Derma 'dikara,  
Child<sup>150</sup> of those who cast their bodies  
Into death fire for their chieftain,  
Thou whose birth-place<sup>150a</sup> was the Rahat river.  
Thou art guardian of my women in the palace.

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Be careful that thou dost not reveal this wish of my heart to anyone at all. If I do not put this Beraim Bapa to death, may my kingdom come to an end and may I never embrace the delights of heaven".

Sultan Ahmad spent a few moments considering how he might bring about Tun Beraim Bapa's death. Then [he said to himself] "I had better take him to the headwaters of the river. Once we get there I will have him murdered". His mind made up the Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go both of you and call Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara, Baba Mentuah and my chiefs". Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai went to call them, and when they were assembled before him Sultan Ahmad said to his ministers and chiefs "Listen my friends, all of you. Let us go on holiday to the headwaters of the river. There we will enjoy ourselves feeding on crustaceans with eyes on stalks<sup>151</sup>, on crabs with oar-like fins<sup>152</sup>, on prawns with curling tails, on *l.m.b.d.k.* fish with roes<sup>153</sup>, and on catfish heavy with eggs". The Sultan ordered all the people to make ready to accompany him.

Then the Sultan said to his chiefs "Who is the best person for us to leave here to keep watch in Pasai?". Baba Mentuah replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, in the opinion of your humble servant the best person to leave behind would be Tun Beraim Bapa, for he is our champion". When the Sultan heard his words he said "No. Not Tun Beraim Bapa. Him we cannot leave behind. For then who would there be to catch fish for us and to use the cast-net?". Then Malik Suleiman Dendang Ayer said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if the words of your humble servant should meet with favour, it were best that Tun Abu'l-Fazil were left behind to keep watch in Pasai". But the Sultan said "No. Abu'l-Fazal must not be parted from us". Then Tun Perpateh Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, in the opinion of your humble servant it is Tun Abdul Jalil who should remain behind. For he is by far the most handsome of Your Highness's sons. If he dresses in Javanese costume he looks like a Javanese; if in Chinese costume, like a Chinese; if in Siamese costume, like a Siamese; if in the costume of Arabia, like an Arab". The Sultan said "Yes. Let us leave behind Abdul Jalil".

Then the Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go to Tukas, both of you, and let Beraim Bapa know that I intend<sup>154</sup> to go on holiday to the headwaters of the river to feed on crustaceans with eyes on stalks, on crabs with oar-like fins, on prawns with curling tails, on *l.m.b.d.k.* fish with roes, and on cat-

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fish heavy with eggs". So they both set off for Tukas to see Tun Beraim Bapa<sup>155</sup>. When they reached Tukas they said to him "Your Highness, your father the Sultan wishes to go to the headwaters of the river for a holiday at Lubok Tura<sup>155a</sup>. There he will feed on crustaceans with eyes on stalks, on crabs with oar-like fins, on prawns with curling tails, on *l.m.b.d.k.* fish with roes, and on catfish heavy with eggs. You must come at once to escort your father upriver". Then Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai took leave of Tun Beraim Bapa and returned to the Sultan, to whom they reported what he had said.

Meanwhile Tun Beraim Bapa called Perman Isap and Orang Tikar and said to them "My friends, go both of you to the people at the headwaters of the river and tell them to clear the paths and to cut down the jungle by the side of the river. His Highness the Sultan wishes to go on holiday upriver to Lubok Tura. Go to Belatap and speak to Malim Zainal of Belatap and Malim Pagar Sesah; then to Pahat Putar and speak to Si-Ali Kechil and Si-Bintang Timur and Si-Akap Gagah Mengangkat. Tell them to wait for me at Pantai Manggang". Perman Isap and Orang Tikar did obeisance, then went upriver to the people there letting them know that the Sultan was going on holiday.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa began to weep bitterly, he and his whole household. A little while later he went into the market and stood in one place after another crying "Listen, you men of the market, henceforth there will be no one to rally you, no one to make sport with you. I am going to accompany the Sultan upriver and then to Bukit Fadlu'llah. Whether I shall come back or not I do not know". All the market folk answered "Your Highness, Tun Beraim Bapa, what enemy is there, what foe that stands in Your Highness's way, that Your Highness should speak in this fashion? Even if the very bones of all of us, Your Highness's servants living here in Tukas, are broken, nobody shall be allowed to do what he pleases [to Your Highness]"<sup>155b</sup>.

But Tun Beraim Bapa said "Hold your peace, all of you. I, Tun Beraim Bapa, have no mind to be a traitor. Did I wish to be a traitor, if against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me; if against Java not even the whole of Java would prevail against me; if against China not even the whole of China would prevail against me; if against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against me<sup>156</sup>. If there is to be no kingdom for me in this world I will yet gain one in the world to come".

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Going through the outer gate Tun Beraim Bapa met Malik Suleiman Dendang Ayer and said to him "Listen, my old friend Malik Suleiman Dendang Ayer, there will be no one now to make sport with you. For I am going upriver to Bukit *Fadlu'llah*. Whether I shall come back or not I do not know". Malik Sulaiman heard his words and together they wept bitterly<sup>157</sup>. Once more Tun Beraim Bapa went back to his house. He and his whole household, his slaves and his attendants, were in tears.

His Highness the Sultan set out in the manner of rulers when they go on holiday. He said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go both of you to Beraim Bapa and let him know that I have already started upriver". The king went on upriver taking with him his consort, his concubines and his slave-girls. Meanwhile Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai went to [call] Tun Beraim Bapa. Then Tun Beraim Bapa left his home taking with him his two kinsmen, and made his way to the market-place. There he cried "You men of the market, stay here all of you. As for me I am now going upriver to escort the Sultan to the headwaters as far as Bukit *Fadlu'llah*. Whether I shall come back or not I do not know". All the market folk wept. Tears poured from their eyes as they said a prayer for Tun Beraim Bapa.

Tun Beraim Bapa went down to the ford and there boarded a boat. Sitting at the stern he began to ply his paddle, a paddle whose blade was three cubits wide and its handle seven cubits long<sup>158</sup> and three times as thick as the span of finger and thumb. Each time he plunged the paddle into the water the boat leaped forward [the length of] one reach<sup>159</sup> of the river. While one of his captains carried his umbrella he waded through the water, keeping pace with the boat, so great was his strength<sup>160</sup>.

The Sultan reached Lubok Sanggong. There he said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Tell that son of mine Beraim Bapa to go and catch fish with the cast-net". So they both told Tun Beraim Bapa to catch fish with the cast-net, and he went to fish at [the pool at] Lubok Sanggong<sup>161</sup>. As soon as he had cast the net he dived in after it. When the Sultan saw Tun Beraim Bapa diving in, he made a sign to his chiefs to wait for him to come to the surface. They drew their swords and took their javelins out of their sheaths to hack at him and stab him. But Tun Beraim Bapa made his way under water for a distance of about one reach of the river. Then he broke surface and climbed out onto dry land.

As soon as the Sultan and his chiefs realized what had happened they were much dismayed. With sullen looks on their

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faces they put away their swords and javelins. The Sultan resumed his journey to the headwaters of the river. As for Tun Beraim Bapa he went on fishing. Indeed, he caught a great many fish: crustaceans with eyes on stalks, crabs with oar-like fins, prawns with curling tails, *lmb.d.k.* fish with roes, and catfish heavy with eggs. These he ordered to be presented to Sultan Ahmad.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa moved on upriver and reached Pantai Manggang. All his captains were there waiting for him at the river bank. Tun Beraim Bapa sat at the bows of his boat straightening out the folds in his cast-net. He said to his captains "My friends, who will there be now to have a game and play about with you? I am going upriver to Bukit *Fadlu'llah*. Whether I shall come back or not I do not know". They all replied "Why does Your Highness speak in this fashion? Even if every bone in our bodies is broken<sup>162</sup>, no one shall be allowed to do what he pleases to Your Highness". But Tun Beraim Bapa said "My comrades, hold your peace, all of you. I have no mind to be a traitor. Did I wish to be a traitor, if against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me; if against Siam not even the whole of Siam would prevail against me; if against China not even the whole of China would prevail against me; if against Java not even the whole of Java would prevail against me; if against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against me"<sup>162a</sup>.

Then Si-[Ali Kechil of] Pahat Putar, Si-Bintang Timur, Si-Akap Gagah Mengangkap, Malim Zainal and Malim Pagar Sesah did obeisance and said "Why does Your Highness speak in this way?". But he replied "Hold your peace. If there is to be no kingdom for me in this world I will yet gain one in the world to come".

Then Tun Beraim Bapa said to Si-Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar and Malim Zainal of Belatap "My old friends, please go and wrestle with each other<sup>163</sup>, while I watch for a while". They held hands, then each caught hold of the other. They went on heaving and tugging at one another until both of them were buried up to their knees. Tun Beraim Bapa remarked "So, my friends, both of you are equally strong". Si-[Ali Kechil of] Pahat Putar said "Your Highness, were I not afraid of being thought a traitor I would take on even Your Highness". [Tun Beraim Bapa] smiled when he heard Si-Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar's words. He divested himself of his casting net and put it [on the ground]. Then he made his way to the bank of the river where he sat down with his legs stretched out. He told

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Si-[Ali Kechil of] Pahat Putar to lift up his legs, and Si-[Ali Kechil of] Pahat Putar pulled at his legs. But so far from being able to lift them he could not make them budge even an inch, though he pulled with such force that ten drops of blood fell from his ten fingers. Then Tun Beraim Bapa shifted his legs and [Si-Ali Kechil of] Pahat Putar tumbled head over heels like a withered leaf blown about in the breeze. Tun Beraim Bapa smiled and climbed back into his boat.

Meanwhile Sultan Ahmad had reached Tanjong Ara. But the king's boat and those of his chiefs chanced to run into a fallen log which lay at Tanjong Ara. The king ordered his chiefs and his men to heave the log out of the way. But they could not move it. So the king called up the elephants<sup>164</sup>. Their names were Dola Laut, Chermin China, Raja Beruang, Raja Tangkas, Biram Pasai, Sempurna Derma Utama, Seri Negeri, Arak Api and others besides these. But all of them together still could not break the obstruction.

Then the Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go both of you and summon my son Tun Beraim Bapa". They both went off, and when they reached him they did obeisance and said "Your Highness, the Sultan has ordered that you be called because his boat has run into a log at Tanjong Ara. He has told his chiefs and his men and the royal elephants to heave aside the log. But they are unable to move it. It only remains for Your Highness to come at once".

Tun Beraim Bapa wanted to leave for Tanjong Ara. But Si-Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar, Si-Bintang Timur, Si-Akap Gagah Mengangkat, Malim Zainal [of] Belatap and Malim Pagar Sesah did obeisance and said "Your Highness, our rice is already cooked and our chickens slaughtered for the pot. Will not Your Highness stay here a few minutes longer?". But Tun Beraim Bapa replied "My friends and comrades, I can only ask you all to excuse me. In as much as your curry is all ready to be eaten I feel as if it were by now in my stomach. But as for me I have an urgent summons from my lord the Sultan".

Tun Beraim Bapa left them and went on his way. As soon as the Sultan saw him coming he said "Look, my child, at this boat of mine and those of my chiefs. They have run into this log. What do you suggest [be done] about the log?". Tun Beraim Bapa prostrated himself and did obeisance. Then he went down to the log and felt his way along it from one end<sup>165</sup> to the other. He pushed it this way and that as he cried "You chiefs, hold hard onto the boat of my lord the Sultan". So

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saying he pushed the log down below the surface of the water, and again felt his way along it from one end to the other. Drawing his dagger he hacked at the log and cut through it. Then he brought his foot down on it and the two halves flew apart. One half rose high overhead and landed about two reaches away up the river. Cascades of water poured down onto the boats and set them adrift. Some capsized, others collided with each other, others were cast up into the forest, so violent was the force of the water which fell on them, so powerful the waves<sup>166</sup> set up by the log breaking. The Sultan's boat was carried away a distance of about one reach.

Once again Tun Beraim Bapa dived in and remained a long time under the water. The Sultan pretended to weep saying between his tears "Oh, my poor child, Tun Beraim Bapa. Have you vanished for good? Can it be that the log fell on top of you? Light of my eyes and fruit of my heart, where can you be now? What mischief has perchance befallen you?". But while Tun Bermain Bapa was under the water he was making his way upriver, dragging the other half of the log with him for a distance of about five reaches. Then, still holding the log, he climbed ashore. The log he flung down on the bank. It went into the ground to a depth of about twenty-four feet. Then he sat down on top of it and started combing his hair and snapping his finger-tips.

Meanwhile the Sultan went back downstream. All Tun Beraim Bapa's followers, his maids-in-waiting, his servants and the ladies of the court attending him were tearing their hair and weeping copious tears. "Alas," they cried, "Your Highness Tun Beraim Bapa, can it be that Your Highness has vanished for good?". Now there was a man who had come from further up the river and had seen Tun Beraim Bapa sitting on top of the log. When he reached the place where they were all weeping he asked "Why are you all in tears?". They answered "Because we do not know whether our master Tun Beraim Bapa has vanished for good, or may even be dead". But the man said "Well, as for Tun Beraim Bapa I have just seen him further up sitting by the side of the river, combing his hair and snapping his finger-tips". Immediately everyone ran off upriver to find him.

News was taken to the Sultan that Tun Beraim Bapa was still alive. The Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai "Go, both of you, and call the royal sorcerer<sup>167</sup>". They went to call the royal sorcerer who came at once. The Sultan said to him "Go, royal sorcerer, and make me a tonic to warm the

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body. My son Beraim Bapa has been in the water. So perhaps he is feeling cold". The royal sorcerer made some pills<sup>168</sup>, but in the pills he put poison. When he had made them he presented them to the Sultan, who ordered Bermamat Pantai and Medan Pantai to take them. He said to them "Go and take this hot tonic to my son. He must be feeling chilled after being in the water". So the two of them went away taking with them the hot tonic. As soon as they came to Tun Beraim Bapa they said "Here is some food for you sent by your father, a hot tonic, for Your Highness must be feeling chilled after being in the water".

Now Tun Beraim [Bapa] knew about the poison. He took one of the pills and, breaking it in half, threw one piece to a dog. The dog ate it and immediately fell dead. The other piece he threw to a chicken, and the chicken [ate it and] likewise died. Then Tun Beraim Bapa thought to himself "If I eat this food I shall certainly die. But if I do not eat it I shall be a traitor. It is better that I should die than be called a traitor". So he took another of the pills, and was about to eat it when Tun Madam Peria saw what he was doing. Quickly she snatched the pill from her brother's hand. Then she ate it herself, and at once fell dead. Tun Beriam Bapa took another pill. But it was snatched by his sister Tun Takiah Dara who ate it and also fell dead. Tun Beraim Bapa ordered [their bodies] to be taken to Bukit Fadlu'llah and buried there.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa took what remained of the pills after his sisters had eaten theirs and ate them himself. The poison was so strong that soon he was writhing in agony. His whole body itched. He told his friends Perman Isap and Orang Tikar to scratch him. But as soon as they started scratching Tun Beraim Bapa's back all their nails came out and they fell dead. Tun Beraim Bapa could endure the torment no longer. He went up to a *kulau* tree and rubbed his back against the trunk. But all the bark peeled off, all the leaves fell and the tree instantly died.

Then he said to Malik Akasan "My old friend Malik Akasan, where is there a deep cavern under the water?". Malik Akasan replied "Your Highness, I have heard a tale that old folk tell of a cavern under the water called the Cavern of Tura<sup>168a</sup>. It is enormously deep, but so narrow that it would barely take a basketful of seed". Tun Beraim Bapa said "My friend, take me there". So Tun Beraim Bapa made his way to the Cavern of Tura. When he reached the spot he said "Malik Akasan, my friend, go and cast a net". Malik Akasan cast a net. It started twisting round and round and descended into the Cavern of Tura.

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Tun Beraim Bapa said "My friend, how do you propose to get the net? It cannot be pulled up because it has become caught on the horns of the *lambu* snake<sup>169</sup>". Malik Akasan dived under the water for the net. But he saw that in the cavern there was a red glow as if a fire were blazing. Quickly he came to the surface and gained the bank. "Your Highness", he said, "In the cavern there is a red glow like a blazing fire".

Tun Beraim Bapa said "Fetch me a coil of rattan". Then girding himself and holding a talisman in his hand he fastened the coil of rattan to his waist and plunged into the water. The fish trapped by the net in the cavern he caught, taking a very large number. Then he came to the surface and threw the fish onto the bank. Once again he plunged into the water. This time he encountered the *lambu* snake. The *lambu* snake caught hold of him [and held him firm] as he struggled in its coils. The next moment he had gained a grip on the snake. The water in the cavern seethed and boiled like the waves of the sea. When Tun Beraim Bapa's followers, his maids-in-waiting and the ladies of the court saw what was happening to him they cried "Alas. Perhaps His Highness Tun Beraim Bapa is being killed [and] eaten by the *lambu* snake".

But Tun Beraim Bapa drew his dagger and cut off the *lambu* snake's head. After it was dead he slit open its stomach. All the inside of its body, its entrails, heart and liver, came to the surface of the water. The *lambu* snake's carcass Tun Beraim Bapa cut through and through and threaded it with pieces of rattan. Then he came to the surface and threw the carcass onto the bank. Climbing onto the bank he ordered the carcass to be burnt. And the *lambu* snake's venom was so powerful that everyone who breathed the smoke from its burning carcass instantly died. The flesh of the snake Tun Beraim Bapa ate.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa began to feel very weak. All the fish [he had caught] he ordered to be presented to Sultan Ahmad, who was to be asked where he should be buried. The men he told to do this went away carrying the fish. When they arrived before the Sultan they presented the fish and said "Your Highness, Tun Beraim Bapa begs you to say where he is to be buried should he die". The Sultan replied "Yonder is the place where you should bury him. For if Pasai is the land of God, so also is that place the land of God"<sup>169a</sup>. The men did obeisance, and returned to Tun Beraim Bapa. When they arrived they reported to Tun Beraim Bapa all that the Sultan had said. Tun Beraim Bapa said to Malik Akasan "My friend, take me to Bukit Fadlu'llah".

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Then Tun Beraim Bapa set out with his friend and his kinsmen. Presently they came to a fork in the road. Malik Akasan said "Your Highness, here the way divides in two. By this route it is two days' journey. By the other it is but a single day's journey before we reach Bukit *Fadlu'llah*. But along this route stands the *sabasana* tree which looks like a snake<sup>169b</sup>. Whosoever sets eyes on it trembles all over until he falls to the ground lifeless. Passing on one comes to the *beluru* tree which looks like a scaly dragon<sup>170</sup>, and whosoever sets eyes on it likewise trembles until he falls lifeless". Tun Beraim Bapa replied "My friend, take me by the shorter route".

Tun Beraim Bapa continued on his journey. Presently he came to the *sabasana* tree. His eyes caught sight of it and he was trembling as he drew his dagger. He struck a blow at the tree and there came out of it a shrill cry like that of a human being. And blood like human blood flowed from it. He went on again and came to the *beluru* tree. His gaze fell on it and he trembled as he took out a javelin and thrust it into the *beluru* tree. Out of the tree there came a noise like an elephant trumpeting, while blood like human blood flowed from it.

As Tun Beraim Bapa went on he began to feel weaker and weaker. At last he said "My old friend Malik Akasan, I pray you carry me for I can no longer go on walking". So Malik Akasan carried Tun Beraim Bapa astride his hip. When they reached a certain spot Tun Beraim Bapa could endure the journey no longer. He told [Malik Akasan] to put him down on the ground. Then he took his spear and hurled it, as he said "My friend Malik Akasan, were I minded to be a traitor, if it were against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me; if against Siam not even the whole of Siam would prevail against me; if against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against me. But I have no wish to be a traitor. Look, my friend Malik Akasan, in whatever place my spear has fallen there will I be buried<sup>171</sup>".

Now the spear had come to earth at Bukit *Fadlu'llah*. And at that very moment Tun Beraim Bapa passed away to the mercy of God the Exalted. Malik Akasan himself carried his body, with his friends and companions [following], to Bukit *Fadlu'llah*, in the manner that a fakir is carried. When they reached Bukit *Fadlu'llah* they found that the spear had struck the ground between [the graves of] his two sisters<sup>172</sup>. It had penetrated the soil so deeply that only about one cubit's length was visible. Now the shaft of Tun Beraim Bapa's spear was twice as thick as the span of finger and thumb. Its blade was one cubit wide and

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nine cubits long. The spot where the spear had struck the ground was about half a day's journey away. Then Malik Akasan and all the people accompanying him buried [Tun Beraim Bapa] at the very place where the spear had fallen. Soon the news reached Sultan Ahmad that the prince was dead. The Sultan was very pleased, his mind much relieved [when he heard it].

Now there is a story which has been handed down to us about Tun Abdul Jalil during the time he remained behind in the city of Pasai. He was told by the Sultan to make improvements<sup>175</sup> to the city, the market-places and the parks, and to bank up the low-lying ground until it was all level parkland.

### Part Three. The Victories of Majapahit

There is a story told of Princess Gemenchang the daughter of the King<sup>174</sup> of Majapahit in Java. She was unmarried, because she wanted to find among the princes a husband who was both wise and full of courage. So the princess ordered one of her chiefs whose name was Tun Perpatih Jena<sup>175</sup> to visit every city and to draw portraits of all the young princes he found in those cities. He was to take with him a box of writing paper, a jugful<sup>176</sup> of ink and a bundle of reed-pens.

Tun Perpatih Jena made ready a boat loaded with these materials. Then he sailed to one country after another drawing portraits of the princes he found in each of them. Altogether some ninety-nine princes had had their portraits drawn by Tun Perpatih Jena by the time he set foot in Pasai. When he saw Tun Abdul Jalil he drew a portrait of him; and this portrait, together with the others, bought the total to an even hundred. Then he left Pasai and returned to his own country.

Some time later he reached the land of Java. There he went to see Princess Gemenchang, taking with him the portraits of the princes. Princess Gemenchang looked through the portraits of the ninety-nine princes. None of them took her fancy. But when she saw the portrait of Tun Abdul Jalil she was amazed how handsome he looked. She said to Tun Perpatih Jena "Whose portrait is this? What is his name? And in what land does he live?". Tun Perpatih Jena replied "Your Highness, this is the portrait of one Tun Abdul Jalil by name, a prince in the land of Pasai". Princess Gemenchang fell deeply in love with Tun Abdul Jalil, just from seeing his likeness in a picture.

The time came when Princess Radin Galoh Gemenchang<sup>177</sup> could no longer endure the yearning of her heart. She behaved

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like one out of her mind. When she ate she did not satisfy her hunger, when she drank she did not assuage her thirst. The princess's maids-in-waiting and the ladies of the court told her mother and father how she was out of her mind through seeing a picture of Tun Abdul Jalil. When the king<sup>178</sup> and queen<sup>179</sup> of Majapahit heard that their daughter was behaving in this way they<sup>180</sup> were shocked and much disturbed. They sent for Princess Gemenchang and said to her "Child, what is this sadness in your heart?". Princess Gemenchang answered "Your Highness, as for this sadness which God the Exalted has suffered to enter my heart, it is a sadness immeasurably deep. The picture of Tun Abdul Jalil, a prince in the land of Pasai, I cannot banish from my mind for a single moment, and because of him I feel utterly forlorn. As the poet says: 'Misfortune poured on me and the days became [as] nights'<sup>181</sup>, meaning that this sadness lies so heavily upon me that all my days are but as the [darkness of] night".

When the Emperor heard his daughter Princess Gemenchang speaking in this way his anxiety became all the greater. He thought to himself "If I do not give in to my child's wishes doubtless her sorrow will drive her out of her mind". Then he said to her "My child, be patient a while. If it please God the Exalted I myself will find a way of bringing your troubles to an end". But the Princess answered "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, I have not the strength to wait in patience. If Your Highness really feels compassion and sympathy for me, will you not have me sent at once to this city of Pasai? Otherwise I shall surely die in my misery".

When her father and mother heard what [Princess] Radin Galoh [Gemenchang] said the king at once issued a decree ordering a fleet of *gorab*<sup>182</sup>, and galleys, and junks to be made ready. When the fleet was ready to sail the king ordered one of the largest *gorab* to be furnished as a vessel to carry his daughter Princess Radin Galoh Gemenchang. It was decorated with the finest materials presented by the Emperor to the princess; pieces from the king's regalia, cloths of the finest materials, ornaments of gold, silver and gems, costumes of various kinds; and there were captains and ministers [who were to accompany her].

On an auspicious day the Emperor went in state with his chiefs and his troops to conduct his daughter the princess to the water's edge. When they arrived there the princess bowed in obeisance and said goodbye to her father and mother. The Emperor and Empress were in tears as they embraced and kissed her. Then the princess went on board the *gorab* which had been furnished for her, together with her maids-in-waiting, her old

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retainers and the ladies of the court. The chiefs all went on board their boats, and the princess and those with her took their departure. Day and night the princess and those accompanying her sailed on towards the city of Pasai.

Now this is what happened according to the story which has been told us. The news soon spread that a fleet bringing (Princess) Radin Galoh Gemenreng the daughter of the king of Majapahit was on its way from Java to the land of Pasai, because the princess was in love with Tun Abdul Jalil. When Sultan Ahmad heard it he became obsessed with one idea only, how to find some way of putting Tun Abdul Jalil to death. One day Sultan Ahmad said to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap "Ho! Maid, Zulaikha of the window, my trust is in thee. [This is something] thou must never reveal to anyone at all. If I do not put Abdul Jalil to death may my kingdom pass away and may I never come to possess Princess Gemenreng"<sup>182a</sup>. After saying this he cast round for some means of bringing about the death of Tun Abdul Jalil. When an auspicious moment occurred he told some men to slay Tun Abdul Jalil, and they slew him. And after Tun Abdul Jalil had returned to the mercy of God the Exalted the Sultan ordered his corpse to be cast into the sea at Jambu Ayer.

After some time the fleet carrying Princess Radin Galoh Gemenreng reached the harbour at Jambu Ayer. The whole convoy was lying at anchor in the roads off Jambu Ayer when there came out from the estuary a boat with a man in it fishing. The men in the junks saw the boat, and when it was near the vessels they called out "What is the name of this land?". The fisherman answered "This land is named Pasai". The men in the junks called out again "What are the tidings in this land?" and the fisherman answered "The tidings are that the rhinoceros has eaten its young". "We do not understand what your words mean", said the men. "They mean", the fisherman replied "that my lord the Sultan who rules this land of Pasai has put two of his sons to death: The first, named Tun Beraim Bapa, was murdered because the Sultan fell in love with his own daughters, one named Tun Medan Peria and the other Tun Takiah Dara. The other son, named Tun Abdul Jalil, [the Sultan] had murdered and cast into the sea here at Jambu Ayer. He had heard that Princess Gemenreng was coming from Java because she was passionately fond of Tun Abdul Jalil. Tun Abdul Jalil's body the Sultan had cast into the sea here at Jambu Ayer. This is what we mean when we say that the rhinoceros has eaten its young".

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Everything that the fisherman had said was reported to Princess Gemenchang. When she heard the news the fisherman had brought she beat her breasts and wept. Then she said "Listen, all of you, my chiefs and countrymen. Go back to Java to my father and mother. If what I am about to do is wrong or foolish I can only beg forgiveness at their feet. Tell my father and mother what you have heard and what you have seen". Then the princess spoke to the sailors "Listen, all of you who are in this gorab. Those of you who wish to stay with me, remain here. Those of you who wish to go back, transfer yourselves to another boat. For the sake of my loved one Tun Abdul Jalil who is in this sea, it is my resolve that here I also shall find my place of rest".

Then the princess said a prayer to God the Exalted. These were her words. "O God, O Lord, may it please thee to grant that thy servant may die, that my gorab may sink here in the sea and that thus I may be united with Tun Abdul Jalil". And it came about by the decree of God the Exalted that the gorab sank beneath the waves. The other vessels turned back towards Java. When the fleet had reached home waters.....<sup>183</sup>

There is a story which has been handed down to us that when Sultan Ahmad heard the news that Princess Gemenchang had been drowned he broke the very bones of his fingers. There was no end to his self-reproach at having killed Tun Beraim Bapa and Tun Abdul Jalil, so great was his remorse. He said to his chiefs "You, my chiefs, why did you not stop me<sup>184</sup> murdering my sons?". Tun Perpatih Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, you know the saying,

'Whose pepper is it in the shed?'

'Rana saujana kerat'<sup>185</sup>

'Whose place is it to mourn the dead?'

'You are to blame that they've departed.'"

Meanwhile the fleet which had brought Princess Gemenchang arrived back in the land of Java. All the people went into the presence of the Emperor and told him the story of how Princess Gemenchang had drowned herself. They also brought him news about the sultan in the land of Pasai having murdered his own sons. When the Emperor of Majapahit heard the tidings they brought, he and the Empress shed tears of great anguish. They hurled themselves on the ground and fell unconscious in a swoon.

When the Emperor recovered from his swoon he told his prime minister<sup>186</sup> to order a gathering of all his ministers and

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high-ranking commanders<sup>187</sup>, the people and the troops. Then he directed them to make ready all the equipment and munitions of war needed for an attack on the land of Pasai — about four hundred of the largest junks, and also many barges<sup>188</sup> and galleys. When the fitting out of the armada had been completed the ministers, the commanders and the rank and file embarked on their appointed vessels, all with their arms and provisions. By the ruler's command an officer of the highest rank, with the title of *Senapati ing Alaga*<sup>189</sup>, [was put in charge] and with him were hundreds of other officers and commanders<sup>190</sup>.

On an auspicious day the whole fleet set sail for the land of Pasai. When it arrived at the anchorage at Pasai the men went ashore and built a line of fortifications all along the coast. When it was finished they took up their positions behind it. Meanwhile Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara went before Sultan Ahmad and told him that the enemy from Majapahit had established themselves in a fortified position. The Sultan was very pleased to hear this. "Tomorrow", he said, "We will go out against the enemy". Then he told Tun Bijaya Pangiran<sup>190a</sup>, whom he had put in command<sup>191</sup>, to lead into battle the great multitude of his subjects.

The next day the war-drums were sounded on both sides. The troops were standing by ready on the field of battle. At the same moment the two armies advanced. In the fighting that ensued a large number of men were killed or injured. Then the drums were sounded for a retreat, and both armies withdrew into their defences. This is how the fighting went day after day. It lasted about three months without either side being defeated. For in support of the Javanese troops there came a continuous stream of reinforcements from other lands.

When the *Senapati* realized that even so they could not inflict a defeat he was very angry with the commanders in his army. Then he himself went ashore with his [own party of] warriors numbering about a thousand men. At the same time he ordered every man in the armada to disembark from *gorab* and junk armed for the fight. Sultan Ahmad assembled his captains and his warriors of renown; the *Pendikar* of Pulau Kukur and the *Pendikar* of (Kampung) Bangka, the champion of Langgar, the *Pendikar* of Kampung China, Si-Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar, Malik Akasan and Tun Rawana Permatang<sup>191a</sup>. He also collected elephants, horses and troops in uncountable numbers.

At daybreak the war-drums were sounded in the ranks of both armies. All the troops left their fortified positions and

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stood facing the enemy on the battlefield. Fighting broke out on all sides. So deeply locked in combat were the troops that one man could not be distinguished from another. The clash of arms shook the very ground. The cries of the captains and their men sounded like thunder rolling across the sky. The blood of men flowed like a river<sup>191b</sup>. As for the Majapahit troops an endless stream came off the junks to the aid of their comrades, including many from countries which were the allies of the ruler of Majapahit. The battle went on without pause for three days and three nights. Of the leaders, warriors and captains and the rank and file a number past counting lay dead.

Then the Sultan was told "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, many of our captains and warriors and men lie dead, a number past counting". The Sultan sighed "Alas for my son Beraim Bapa. If only he were here! For if he were to fight against Java not even the whole of Java would prevail against him; if he fought against China not even the whole of China would prevail against him; if he fought against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against my [son] Beraim Bapa"<sup>191c</sup>. Then for an answer Tun Perpatih Tulus Agong "Tukang Sukara recited the verse:

"Whose pepper is it in the shed  
Since from the stems the corns were parted?<sup>191d</sup>  
Whose place is it to mourn the dead?  
You are to blame that they've departed."

After that Sultan Ahmad left his palace taking with him the people of his household and his regalia, everything that could be moved. He went to a place called Menduga. There he set up his court, about fifteen days' journey from the town of Pasai. Now according to the story which has been handed down to us, after the battle had been raging for three days and three nights it reached a point where the men of Pasai were routed. They scattered in all directions, fleeing this way and that in confusion. The Majapahit forces occupied the fortifications of Pasai and then Sultan Ahmad's palace itself. Great beyond counting was the booty and the number of captives they took.

As long as they remained in Pasai the soldiers and the civilians spent their time feasting in the city. Now on the battlefield at Pasai there was a wild mango tree. It was against this tree that the soldiers piled their lances. So great was the number of lances they stacked there that the tree actually leaned sideways. So the place was called Padang Pauh Bengkok<sup>191d</sup>, a name by which it is known to the present day.

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When the troops of Java had been in occupation of Pasai for some time the Senapati set the ministers, the commanders and the troops to work loading their boats. Every boat was loaded with such quantities of booty and prisoners that it was filled to overflowing. The fleet looked like ducks swimming in the water. Then the troops set sail for a triumphal return to their homeland. The sound of their cheering was heard over the whole sea. After several days' sailing they reached Jambi and Palembang and called in there. These two places gave hostages<sup>192</sup> and handed over their arms, both of them becoming vassals of Majapahit.

In due course the fleet reached Java<sup>193</sup> and all went ashore and into the presence of the Emperor and Empress. The Senapati offered the booty and the captives to the Emperor. Then he told him about the fighting from beginning to end. He described how the city of Pasai had been reduced and how its ruler had fled nobody knew whither. The Emperor ordered the booty to be divided into three parts: one part for himself, one for the Senapati and his ministers and commanders, and one for the rank and file of his troops.

In addition the Senapati presented the hostages<sup>193a</sup> from Jambi and Palembang and their arms. He explained how these two places had been brought into subjection to the Emperor. As for the Pasai prisoners, the Emperor made a decree ordering them to remain in Java but allowing them liberty to settle in it anywhere they pleased. That is the reason why there are in Java so many holy places<sup>194</sup> dating from the time of the conquest of Pasai by Majapahit. At least, so runs the story which has come down to us.

Now there is a story that some time after this the Emperor spoke to Pateh Gajah Mada and Temenggong Macham Negara<sup>195</sup> and Demang Singa Perkasa and Senapati ing Alaga. These were his words. "My ministers and commanders, what do you propose [we should do] about the countries, the bays and river-reaches and islands not yet subject to us? You must lead an expedition against them". They answered "We will all do as Your Highness commands"<sup>196</sup>. So Pateh Gajah Mada set the captains and the soldiers to work fitting out an expeditionary force complete with arms and equipment, lances and standards, colours and processional ornaments<sup>197</sup>. When it was ready Pateh Gajah Mada in company with his ministers and commanders went into the audience-hall<sup>198</sup> before the Emperor. They all did obeisance and remained still. Then Pateh Gajah Mada said "Your Highness, as for Your Highness's decree all is now ready. There are six hundred vessels under the command of three senior commanders:

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that it, Temenggong Macham Negara and Demang Singa Perkasa and Senapati ing Alaga, Your Highness. And besides these there are the subordinate commanders, the *ngabehi*, the *lurah*, the *patinggi*<sup>199</sup> and under them troops numbering three hundred thousand in all, Your Highness”.

The Emperor said “We must wait for an auspicious day”. Then he entertained his ministers and commanders and all the troops with much feasting. For seven days and seven nights there was general rejoicing to the accompaniment of all kinds of music. When it was over the Emperor gave presents of clothing to his ministers, his commanders, his captains and all the people, to each man according to his rank. Then after he had regaled them with refreshments he said “My ministers and commanders, the first territory you must bring into subjection is that of the Raja of Ujong Tanah”.\*

The ministers, the commanders and the captains took leave of the Emperor. Then each went to his appointed station in the fleet, which forthwith set sail for the land of Ujong Tanah. When they had reached the islands and creeks of Ujong Tanah every place there was conquered and paid tribute: the Tambelan Islands, Siantan, Jemaja, Bunguran<sup>200</sup>, Serasan, Subi, Pulau Laut, Tioman, Pulau Tinggi, Pemanggil; and after the Karimatas<sup>201</sup>, Belitong, Bangka, Lingga, Riau, Bintan, Bulang — all these became vassals of Majapahit.

Then the fleet moved to the north and reduced Sambas, Mempauh and Sukadana. Then it went to Kota Waringin and after that to Banjarmasin. Next, a visit was made to Pasir, Kutai and Berau<sup>202</sup>. All these places were subdued during this period and made subject to Majapahit. To the king of Majapahit they all sent tribute. There was an interval of about two seasons of the wind<sup>203</sup>. Then the whole fleet set sail again towards the east, to the Banda Islands and Ceram and *K.r.ntok*.<sup>204</sup> All these countries in the east became vassals of the king of Majapahit in these days of long ago, according to the tradition which has been handed down to us, and to the king of Majapahit they all sent tribute. Then the fleet turned for home. [On the way back] it skirted the shores of Bima, Sumbawa, Sileparang, Bali and Balambangan, all of which were brought into subjection.

After some time the whole fleet returned to Majapahit in triumph. The ministers and commanders went ashore and were received in audience by the Emperor. To him they presented the spoils of victory; hostages, tribute, the offerings of subject

\* For places mentioned in this section see map on p. 108.

states and islands great and small, in such vast quantities that nobody could count them. There were objects of every colour<sup>205</sup>, gold and silver, dollar pieces<sup>206</sup>, weapons, cloths of variegated hue, iron pyrites<sup>207</sup>, beeswax, birds' nests, sleeping-mats, rattans and strips of palm leaf, in amounts altogether beyond counting. The Emperor commanded that the spoils be divided into three parts, one part for the Emperor himself, [one for the ministers]<sup>208</sup>, and one for the troops.

The Emperor was famous for his love of justice. The empire grew prosperous. People in vast numbers thronged the city. At this time every kind of food was in great abundance. There was a ceaseless coming and going of people from the territories overseas which had submitted to the king, to say nothing of places inside Java itself. Of the districts on the coast, from the west came the whole of the west, from the east came the whole of the east<sup>208a</sup>. From places inland right down to the shores of the Southern Ocean the people all came for an audience with the Emperor, bringing tribute and offerings. From the east they came from the Banda Islands, from Ceram and from K.r.ntok., bringing their offerings of beeswax<sup>209</sup>, sandalwood, massoia bark<sup>210</sup>, cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg piled high in heaps, besides much ambergris and musk<sup>211</sup>.

The land of Majapahit was supporting a large population. Everywhere one went there were gongs and drums being beaten, people dancing to the strains of all kinds of loud music, entertainments of many kinds like the living theatre, the shadow-play, masked plays, step-dancing and musical dramas<sup>212</sup>. These were the commonest sights and went on day and night in the land of Majapahit. Food was in plentiful supply. Everywhere there were people going to and fro in numbers past counting.

After some time the Emperor thought to himself "Now every country has submitted to me except Pulau Percha<sup>213</sup>, which alone remains unconquered. Let me then force Pulau Percha into subjection by a trick. I will order a buffalo contest to be arranged". Now belonging to the Emperor was a certain buffalo as large as a rogue elephant. The tips of its horns were six cubits apart. At their base the horns were as thick as the span of finger and thumb<sup>213a</sup>. Its eyes were as red as saga beans<sup>214</sup>.

It is related that the Emperor told a courtier<sup>214a</sup> to call Pateh Gajah Mada. Warga Dalam did obeisance and went on his way to the Pateh's house. On reaching it<sup>215</sup> he said "Sir, the Emperor calls you". So the prime minister left home and went to the

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Emperor). On reaching the audience-hall, he bowed and did obeisance to the Emperor. Then he sat down. A silver vessel containing *sireh* was brought in. After the Emperor had eaten some *sireh* he said "Pateh, what do you think? Should we now make Pulau Percha submit [to us]? For it has not yet been brought into subjection to us as have all other places". The Pateh replied "I, your humble servant, beg for time to consider<sup>216</sup> your proposal, Your Highness". The Emperor went on "Take with you that huge buffalo of mine to fight against Pateh Suatong's buffalo, so that we can play a trick [on him]. If his buffalo loses force him into submission at once. If it is our buffalo that loses come back with all speed".

Pateh Gajah Mada did obeisance. Then he went out and set the ministers, the commanders and the troops to work fitting out an expeditionary force. When everything was ready they all went on board their boats with their stores and arms. The fleet numbered in all five hundred vessels. The commanders who sailed with it were the same three as before<sup>216a</sup>. There were also many subordinate commanders, the *ngabehi*, *aria*, *lurah*, *bekel*, *patinggi*<sup>216b</sup>, and two hundred thousand troops. The Emperor bestowed gifts on the commanders and gave refreshments to the troops. The feasting went on for three days and three nights.

When an auspicious day arrived the ministers and the commanders did obeisance to the Emperor and took leave of Pateh Gajah Mada. Then each of them went to his appointed station in the fleet which set sail for Jambi. After several days at sea they reached Jambi and made their way up the river. Arriving at Priangan in the hinterland of Jambi they disembarked from the boats.

News of their arrival reached Pateh Suatang who gathered together his chiefs and people to welcome<sup>217</sup> the men of Java. Meanwhile the commanders reached Priangan and made a halt there to build themselves hutments. When this had been done one of the commanders was sent to Pateh Suatang to let him know that they wanted to hold a buffalo contest. The commander went to Pateh Suatang who at once greeted him with compliments and bade him be seated. Deferring to the honour being paid to him the commander sat down. Then he presented the proposal of the commander-in-chief to hold a buffalo contest. Pateh Suatang replied "Yes, I agree. But I ask for seven days' grace, for I shall have to find a buffalo to fight the Emperor's buffalo". On his return the commander reported to the three senior commanders what Pateh Suatang had said.

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Now Pateh Suatang and Pateh Ketemenggongan, so the story goes, took a buffalo-calf which looked a strong and sturdy animal. This buffalo-calf was put in a pen and allowed no milk. When the seven days' grace was up the soldiers on both sides drew up in lines across an open piece of ground. The three senior commanders came to an agreement with Pateh Suatang and Pateh Ketemenggongan. It was that "If the buffalo of the Emperor of Majapahit loses we men of Java will dress ourselves down to the ankles in women's clothes. If your buffalo loses you must submit to the Emperor of Majapahit". To this Pateh Suatang said "Very well. I agree".

Then the men of Majapahit released their buffalo. The animal looked like a lion spoiling for a fight as it prowled round the ground. Meanwhile Pateh Suatang released the buffalo-calf. It was so famished that it sped towards the large buffalo like lightning. Getting between the hind legs of the beast it started sucking at its testicles and would not let go. The large buffalo chased round and round in a frenzy. It tried to use its horns but to no purpose because the calf was underneath its legs. It ran this way and that, but still the buffalo-calf would not let go of its testicles. It let out shriek after shriek and rolled over and over on its back.

So the king of Majapahit's buffalo lost the fight. The noise of the people cheering was like rolling thunder. The three senior commanders felt very ashamed and wanted to go home. But Pateh Suatang and Pateh Ketemenggongan said to them "Please, you commanders of the Emperor who are our kinsmen, will you not remain a day or two longer? We would like to make merry in your company, as a mark of our good fellowship, by holding a feast for you all". So the commanders replied "Very well. If you wish we will stay".

Pateh Suatang killed hundreds of animals for his guests' refreshment, buffaloes, bulls, goats, ducks and chickens. To drink there were hundreds of jars<sup>218</sup> of liquor made from fermented sugar and flavoured rice-spirit. The vessels into which this liquor was put were made of single sections of the *telang* bamboo, one end being sharpened to a very fine point. Thousands of these drinking vessels were made.

When everything was ready Pateh Suatang said to his chiefs and his people "Listen, all of you. When we have all eaten our fill you will bring in these vessels full of liquor, each of you carrying one of them in his hand. You will pour the liquor into [our guests'] mouths, every one of you at the same instant.

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When their mouths are wide open you must ram the vessels down them. When you hear the beat of a drum it will be a signal for you all to prod forward at the same instant, so that our guests are all killed at once".

When they had promised to do this Pateh Suatang told one of his chiefs to let the Javanese commanders know that they should seat themselves in lines on the field near the town of Priangan. When they were all sitting in order people came bringing water and helpings of food which they placed in front of the commanders, the ministers and the troops. Pateh Suatang said "Sirs<sup>218</sup>, be pleased to partake of this unworthy repast which we the people of Pulau Percha offer for your refreshment". The commanders replied "We all thank you most heartily for your favours". Then each man began to eat his helping of food.

When the meal was finished the chiefs and people rose and fetched the liquor. Each was carrying one of the vessels made of *telang* bamboo in his hand as he approached his man. The men of Java tried to receive them in their hands. But the people of Pulau Percha restrained them saying "No. That is not our custom. It is for us to perform the task of pouring the liquor into your mouths, so that in feasting you we may do you honour". So they all opened their mouths wide. Then the sound of a drum being beaten was heard, and as the liquor was being poured into their mouths the drinking vessels were rammed right down into their gullets.

Some fell dead on the spot. Others fled. A large number of *mengkudu* trees standing on the field were bent over in an easterly direction owing to the pressure of men who in their flight ran into them. To this very day the trees are still leaning, and even seedling plants from them lean towards the east. The corpses of the men of Java smelt so strongly on the field that ever since the place has been called Padang Si-Busok. Furthermore, the place where the buffalo fight took place has been called Menangkabau<sup>219</sup> up to the present day.

The people who ran away went back to Majapahit in sorrow and distress. Making good their escape from Jambi they set sail for their homeland. After many days at sea they at last reached Majapahit. They went ashore and into the Emperor's presence, and to him they told the whole story from beginning to end. "That is the way it happened, Your Highness", they said. The Emperor was speechless, so great was his disappointment in his commanders and the chief ministers upon whom he had relied. This is what happened according to the story we have been told.

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So ends the Chronicles of the Kings of Pasai. May everlasting peace remain with those who read it and those who hear it read. Above all, may it please God (Glory be to Him the Exalted) to sustain those who have committed it to writing through this world to the world to come, through the blessing and intercession of the Prophet Muhammad the Chosen One (may God bless him and give him peace). Finished on Monday the twenty-first day of Muharram in the seventh century of the Muslim era, 1230 A.H.<sup>220</sup> ,

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— [copied] from [the manuscript of] Kiai Suradimanggala, the senior regent of the province of Demak, in the Bagor area, in the year 1742 — <sup>221</sup>

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In the list below are all the names of places mentioned in the Chronicles of Pasai:—

1. Pasai, whose ruler was named Ahmad.
2. Balek Rimba.
3. Semerlanga.
4. Beruana.
5. Simpang di-Ulu Sungai.
6. Buloh Telang, whose king was Megat Iskandar.
7. Benua, whose ruler was named Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar.
8. Barus.
9. Semudera, whose ruler was Merah Silu.
10. Ma'ari, whose ruler was named Sultan Muhammad.
11. Perlak, whose ruler was named Sultan....
12. Jambu Ayer.
13. Rama Gandi.
14. Tukas.
15. Pekan, whose king was named Tun Beraim (Bapa)<sup>222</sup>.

In the list below are all the places which were vassals of the  
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king of Majapahit at the time of the fall of Pasai under its ruler named [Sultan] Ahmad<sup>223</sup>.—

1. Tambelan.
2. Siantan.
3. Jemaja.
4. Bunguran
5. Serasan.
6. Subi.
7. Pulau Laut.
8. Tioman.
9. Pulau Tinggi.
10. Pemanggil. Karimata.
11. Belitong.
12. Bangka.
13. Lingga.
14. Riau.
15. Bintan.
16. Bulang.
17. Sambas.
18. Mempauh.
19. Sukadana.
20. Kota Waringin.
21. Banjarmasin.
22. Pasir.
23. Kutai.
24. Berau.
25. Jambi.
26. Palembang.
27. Ujong Tanah.

[In the list] below are the places to the eastwards:—

1. Banda [I.]
2. Bima.
3. Sumbawa.
4. Sileparang.
5. Ceram.
6. K.r.ntok.
7. Bali.
8. Balambangan.<sup>224</sup>

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## Appendix 1

### The Story of the Bamboo Princess.

1. There was a certain Raja of Champa who lived in a city named Malapatata. Near the palace of the Raja of Champa there was an areca palm, on which there was a blossom of great size; but wait as they might for it to unfold, it still did not unfold. And the Raja of Champa said to his slave, "Climb the palm and see what is the matter with that blossom".

And the boy climbed the palm, picked the blossom and brought it down. The Raja opened the blossom and beheld therein a male child of great beauty. And the sheath of the blossom became the state gong known as *jeming*, while the stamen of it became the sword known as *beladau*, which is the state sword of the Raja of Champa. And the Raja of Champa was delighted with the child, to whom he gave the name of Raja Pau Glang.

[Taken from C. C. Brown's translation of the Malay Annals, *JMBRAS*, 25, (2), 1952, p. 109. This passage in the original Malay occurs in Winstedt's transcription of Raffles MS 18, *JMBRAS*, 16, (3), 1938, pp. 134-35.]

2. One day it was nearly noon when they all halted, weary after hunting deer. King Phra Ong Mahapodisat was resting on the elephant on which he was mounted when he happened to see a house. In it were living an old man and his wife. And in a clump of bamboos growing there, there was one large stem (*buloh betong*) which was leaning over towards the side of the house. The stem was thin at the bottom and thin at the top. But in the middle it was as thick as the distance between one node and the next. King Phra Ong Mahapodist ordered the thick part of the bamboo stem to be cut off and taken back to his fort, so delighted was he with it. Then, as with the approach of evening the day grew a little cooler they all resumed their hunting.....

Now as for the bamboo King Phra Ong Mahapodisat had it placed by the side of his bed. He was so fond of it that he would not be parted from it. And as the days went by it grew larger and larger. In due course there came an auspicious moment when the bamboo burst — and out stepped a young boy of surpassingly handsome appearance. Everyone was struck with amazement at the sight of the child. King Phra Ong Mahapodisat at once took the child and treated him as his own son, with maids-in-waiting and nurses to look after him. And to the child he gave the name of Raja Buloh Betong.

[Translated from A. J. Sturrock's romanisation of *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, *JSBRAS*, 72, 1916, pp. 91-92; there are also translations by James Low, *J. Ind. Arch.*, 3, 1849, p. 468, and by W. E. Maxwell, *JRAS*, New Ser., 13, 1881, p. 500, but neither are entirely accurate.]

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3. Now there was a clump of the *betong* bamboo, the colour of which was like gold of ten touch and its leaves like silver. All the trees which grew near bent in its direction and it looked like a state umbrella. The *Mantri* and the people chopped at it, but as fast as they cut down a branch on one side a fresh one shot forth on the other, to the great astonishment of all the *Rajas*, *Mantris* and warriors. Puspa Vikrama Jaya hastened back to King Dasaratha and laid the matter before him. The latter was greatly surprised, and declared that he would go himself the next day and see the bamboo cut down. Next day he set out on a white elephant attended by a splendid train of chiefs and followers, and on reaching the spot ordered the bamboo clump to be cut down. Vikrama Puspa Jaya pointed it out shaded by the other forest trees. The King perceived that it was of very elegant appearance, and that an odour of spices and musk proceeded from it. He told Puspa Vikrama Jaya to cut it down and the latter drew his sword, which was as big as the stem of a coconut tree, and with one stroke cut down one of the bamboos. But immediately a fresh stem shot forth on the other side and this happened as often as a stroke was given. Then the King grew wirth, and getting down from his elephant he drew his own sword and made a cut with it at the bamboo.

Then by the divine decree of the *Dewatas*, the King became aware of a female form in the bamboo clump seated on a high ornamented platform, her face shining like the full moon when it is fourteen days old, and the colour of her body being like gold of ten touch. On this King Dasaratha quickly unloosed his girdle and saluted the princess. Then he lifted her on to his elephant and took her to his palace escorted by music and singing.

[Translated by W. E. Maxwell  
from R. van Eysinga's edition of *Hik-  
ayat Seri Rama*, JSBRAS, Notes &  
*Queries*, 4, 1886, pp. 122-23 (No.  
94): see text above, note 5.)

## Appendix 2

### The Tale of the Sagacious Elephant

1. One day King Marong Mahapodisat [ruler of Kedah Zamin Turan = *Langkasuka*] said to his four ministers "My friends, you must fetch the invincible elephant, the one that was the mount of my father King Marong Mahawangsa, named Gemala Johari and fit it out with the throne hung with canopy and curtains, with ornaments draped round its flanks and a flowered carpet across its back. We will mount my daughter on it and assemble our people and troops, and you four will accompany her in a journey to the eastwards, to a place where she will be queen. When it is settled that she shall be queen the four of you, my friends, must return to me. Let the elephant Gemala Johari remain behind with its mistress. It shall bring news quickly of what is happening to her."

The four ministers did obeisance and begged leave to go and call everyone together, and to prepare for the journey as the King had decreed. When everything was ready a report was made to the King. Then King Marong Mahapodisat lifted his daughter onto the elephant Gemala Johari,

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and gave her a magic *keris* which was named Lela Mesani. This *keris* was a precious heirloom. If it were merely held out in the presence of its enemies they were so afraid of it that they could not lift their heads. Its blade looked like a flaming fire.

The King counselled the elephant Gemala Johari saying "Gemala Johari, when your mistress becomes queen never fail to go back and forth to bring me news of all that is happening to her". The elephant raised its head and set off moving towards the place where the sun rises, followed by the ministers, the chiefs, the people and the troops. Through the vast primeval forests they went, across wide plains and over hills and mountains, led by the elephant Gemala Johari. After many days' journey to a place near the coast they came to a broad river which led straight to the sea. And in that place, where the ground was even, the elephant at last halted.

The ministers, the chiefs and all the people stopped and set to building a palace and a fort with a moat. All the people living in those parts came from far and near to appear before their queen and make offerings to her. When they had built the audience-hall and the fort with a moat round it the queen entered the audience-hall, and placed the *keris* in front of her as she sat in state. Then the people who had assembled from distant parts came before her bringing offerings and presents. And of those that came not one dared lift up his head, so greatly did they fear the magic power of the *keris* Lela Mesani and the elephant Gemala Johari.

[Translated from A. J. Sturrock's text of the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, *JSBRAS*, 72, 1916, pp. 61-62: see text pp. 47-48, above, & note 10.]

2. [One day a merchant's son, who was an incarnation of a Bodhisattva and had been sent away by his father to live with his wife in the forest, rescued a maimed man from the river. After bandaging his wounds and giving him food he allowed the maimed man to remain with them.]

One day when he was away in search of fruits and roots, his wife fell in love with that maimed man, whose wounds were healed. And determining to kill her husband the wicked woman devised a plot for doing so in concert with that mutilated man, and she pretended to be ill. And she pointed out a plant growing in the ravine, where it was difficult to descend, and the river hard to cross, and said to her husband "I may live if you bring me that sovereign plant, for I am sure that the god indicated to me its position in a dream". He consented and descended into the ravine to get the plant, by the help of a rope plaited of grass and fastened to a tree. But when he had got down she unfastened the rope; so he fell into the river and was swept away by it, as its current was strong. And he was carried an enormous distance by the river and flung up on the bank near a certain city, for his merits preserved his life.

Then he climbed up on to the firm ground and rested under a tree, as he was fatigued by his immersion in the water, and thought over the wicked behaviour of his wife. Now it happened that at that time the king of that city had just died, and in that country there was an immemorial custom that an auspicious elephant was driven about by the citizens,

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and any man that he took up with his trunk and placed on his back was anointed king. The elephant wandering about came near the merchant's son and, as if he were Providence pleased with his self-control, took him up and put him on his back. Then the merchant's son.....was immediately taken to the city and anointed king by the people.

[From *Katha Sarit Sagara* (The Ocean of the Streams of Story), tr. C. H. Tawney, 2, 1884, Chap LXV, 'The Story of the Ungrateful Wife', pp. 101-02.]

### Appendix 3

#### The rout of Majapahit by Pulau Percha

1. A long time after this the people of Java returned and came to Tanjong Bunga, and brought a buffalo (karbau) of gigantic size, and said to the king "Come and make a match with this buffalo". The Bandahara replied "Good, but the buffalo of the lang depertuan is yet young, give us three days' delay". They replied "Be it so". Then the Bandahara and Inder Mah sought out a young buffalo, which was tied up and kept from sucking for three days. Two very sharp knives were then fastened to its head. When the three days had elapsed the people of Java brought their huge buffalo, with his horns armed with sharp knives, and enquired where the buffalo of the lang depertuan was, and also what was the amount of the wager. The lang depertuan replied "Whatever amount you please". Then the lang depertuan said to the Bandahara "Bring out our buffalo".

The Bandahara having ordered the dam to be kept out of sight then turned out the young buffalo who, as soon as he saw that large buffalo, ran towards it thinking it his mother, because he was very hungry, and immediately began to press and strike on the belly of the buffalo, as he was wont when sucking. But the great buffalo ran away and tried to get at the little one with his horns, but could not get at him because he kept always under his belly, attempting to suck at length his bowels were laid open by the knives fastened to the head of the calf, so that after in vain attempting to escape he fell down and died. Thus the people of Java were worsted and the lang depertuan won the battle, wherefore that place was called Menangkarbau (the victory of the buffalo) and is so to this day.

The people of Java were very much ashamed, and wished to go to war and fight with Tanjong Bunga, but the Bandahara said to the lang depertuan "O Tuanko, do not meet these people of Java in battle, because they are many and we are as yet few; offer terms of accommodation, and in the meantime we will try some stratagem. The Bandahara replied "O Bandahara, who art cunning, do as you have said, I agree". Therefore the Bandahara said to the people of Java "O mighty people, do not let us quarrel, whatever you wish, we will give. The people of Java said "O Bandahara, if such is your wish, good, what is now your desire?". The Bandahara replied "I wish for nothing but to entertain you and give you to eat and drink, in proof of good faith". The people of Java replied "Well, make haste". Then the Bandahara sent to prepare a feast and to procure toddy and arack to drink, which he put into bamboos cut obliquely

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at the mouth, and to each man of Java an attendant presented a bamboo of toddy of which they all took a long draught at once with open mouths and turning up their heads. At that moment each of the attendants forced the bamboos down their throats so as to cut their windpipes, and thus killed a great number of them, while the few that remained ran away. That place soon began to stink from the number of dead bodies, and it therefore acquired the name of Padang Si-Busuk, which it still retains.

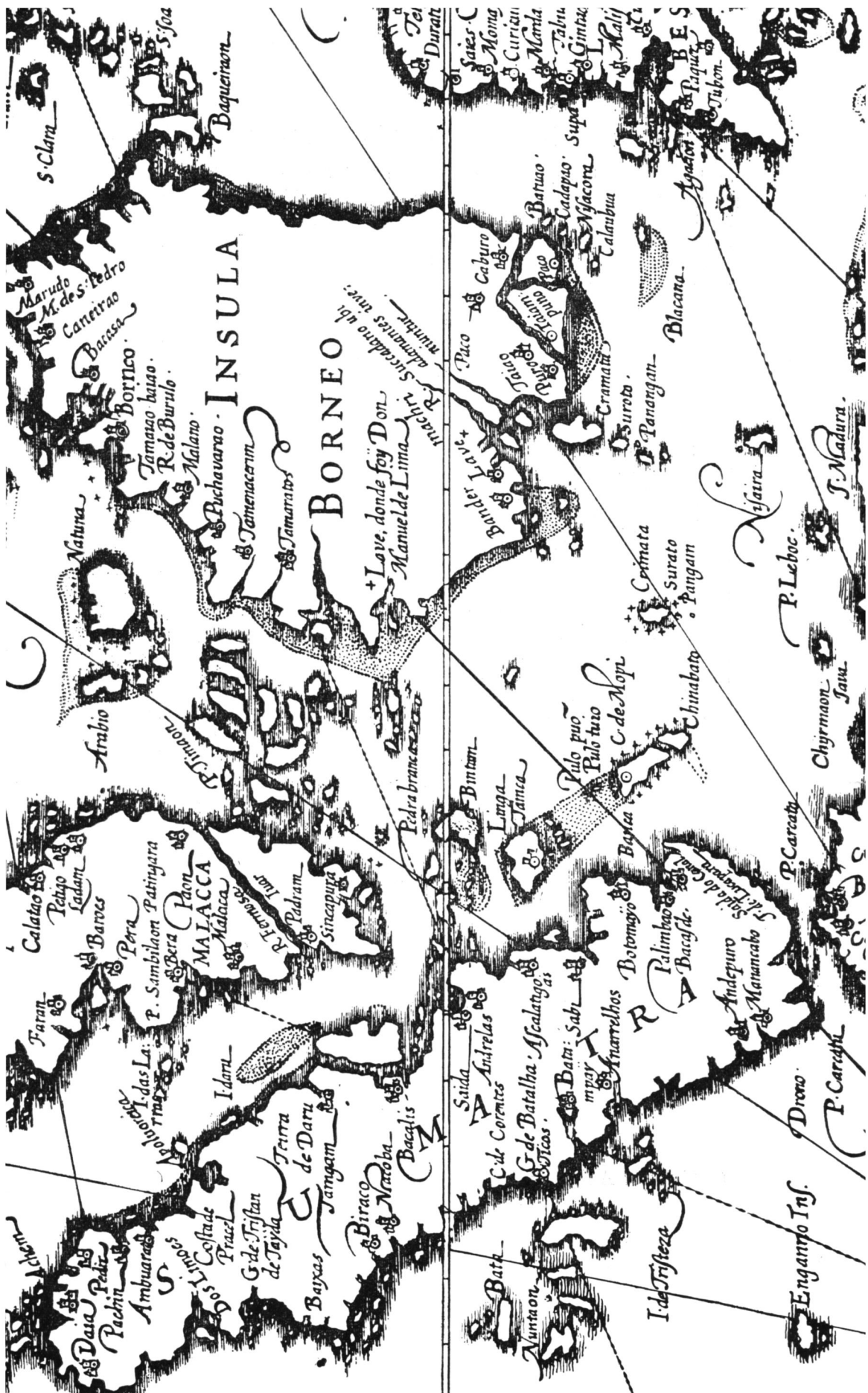
[From the 'Genealogy of the Rajahs of Pulo Percha' (translated by Sir T. S. Raffles), *Malayan Miscellanies*, 2, 1822, No. 12 (Bencoolen). See text pp. 102-04, above, & note 219.]

2. A powerful Javanese prince came to the land (of Menangkabau) in a boat loaded with valuables. He also had with him an enormous carabou bull with long and pointed horns which he boasted could outfight any in the world. He challenged the people to produce an animal equal to his, the stakes to be his boatload of riches if he lost; but if he won he was to become their ruler. Although there was no carabao in the land equal to that of the prince, his wager was accepted, and the fight was scheduled for seven days hence. During that period the Menangkabau made a nine-pointed spear of iron, and they kept a carabao calf away from its mother so that it could not get any milk.

On the appointed morning the great bull was led to an open space, where it began to eat grass. Then the people fastened the spear over the calf's mouth and brought it to the place of combat. The half-starved animal, seeing the great beast and seeking food, rushed full speed at the bull and drove the spear so deeply into its body that it died. Since then, the historians say, the people have been called *menang* (winning) *kabau* (carabao); or some say that it should be *minangkabau*, since *minang* refers to the nine-pointed spike on the animal's nose.

[From Fay-Cooper Cole's *The Peoples of Malaysia*, New York, 1945: according to Dr. Cole, in the Menangkabau country, this story is one that 'everyone knows although the details vary'.]

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## Notes

In these Notes references to page numbers are, as in the Introduction, to the revised romanized text published in this issue of the *Journal* except where I have stated otherwise. In referring to other texts I have used the following abbreviations.

- MS. = The 1814 manuscript of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* (= HRP),
- D. = T. Dulaurier's printed Jawi text of HRP, 1849.
- Me. = A. Marre's French translation of HRP, 1874.
- M. = J. P. Mead's romanised text of HRP, 1914.
- MS 18. = The Raffles No. 18 manuscript of *Séjarah Melayu* (= SM).
- R.O.W. = Sir Richard Winstedt's romanised text of SM, 1938.
- B. = C. C. Brown's English translation of SM, 1952.
- S. = Shellabear's version of SM, M.P.H. editions 1915 & 1930.
- also W. = R. J. Wilkinson's Malay-English Dictionary (Romanised), 2 vols, Mytilene, Greece 1932.

In commenting on points of historical and general interest I have referred as often as possible to the Introduction (= v.I.), where they are discussed in a context wider than is practicable in a note. Where I have done this my comments give only such details as are needed to relate what is said there to the matter under note.

1. *Al-kisah* peri mengatakan *cheritera* and even more commonly *Al-kisah* maka tersebut-lah perkataan are generally used in HRP to introduce a new episode, the words following the Arabic *al-kisah* serving to explain its meaning to the Malay reader. Among other such conventional phrases *di-cheritakan oleh (orang) yang empunya cerita ini* is common both in HRP and in SM in the loose sense of "The tradition is . . .". *Kata sahibu'l-hikayat* (lit. "the possessor of this story says . . ."), a form used frequently in SM to mean simply "It is related that . . .", is found only once (p 16) in HRP. It may be a correction by a Muslim copyist.

2. *negeri di-Semerlanga*, i.e. a trading settlement. Throughout HRP *negeri* denotes a fairly large community, centred usually on a river estuary, an entrepôt for foreign merchants, with some political influence over the surrounding territory. Here and elsewhere I have translated it "city". For *Semerlanga*, modern *Samalanga*, see Map, p. 6.

3. *Raja Muhammad itu pergi-lah ia dengan segala raayat-nya*. Lit. "This Raja Muhammad was the one to . . .". A periphrasis is needed to convey the nuance of *itu . . . -lah ia*. In HRP as in SM *segala* signifies mere plurality, not totality. *Raayat* was the maritime culture term used of the "native" element, *pagans* in process of assimilation to the new way of life.

OPPOSITE: Sumatra, Borneo & part of the Malay Peninsula, from the map published by Langren in 1623. Pasai, reduced from *Pacem* to *Pachin*, survives though the state had been absorbed by *Acheh* a hundred years earlier. Similarly, on Borneo *Lave* still appears (twice in fact) regardless of its destruction by forces from Brunei & Sulu in 1520. *Banjermasin*. (which took the place of *Tanjongpura*, also marked twice, differently spelt) founded about 1550 here makes an early appearance as *Bander machri*.

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4. *gedubang*. A heavy, short sword of the *keléwang* group used by the Gayo peoples of North Sumatra. The *keléwang* is a single-edged sword, wider and heavier towards the point, with the cutting-edge straight (or straight & then mildly convex = *k. puchok berkait*). Weapons of this general form were once widespread in Indonesia, being employed by peoples of northern Sumatra, Java Borneo, Celebes & the Philippines. The larger examples have a two-handed grip (cf. the Illanun *kampilan* & the Sulu *keléwang*), while in some forms the hilt is bent back from the line of the cutting-edge (cf. the *buku* & *latok* of the dayaks). The back of the blade may terminate in a sharp spike, as it does in the *golok*; in the latter, however, the cutting edge is convex. (Gibson-Hill, in *litt.*).

5. I can find no grammatical sense in the reduplication of *budak-budak* here and *kanak-kanak* above. A more idiomatic rendering of this sentence would be (*maka*) *demi dilihat oleh baginda (akan) budak perempuan itu, maka terlalu sukachita baginda laki-isteri itu*.

Although not mentioned by Zainalabidin (1951: 77 et seq.) among his five folk-tales "generally known among the Malays", the story of the Bamboo Princess, is common in Malaysian folklore (*betong* = a species of bamboo). According to Gibson-Hill it has been found as a dynastic legend in Raman (Skeat, 1953: 86) and reported as known among the Mantras of Negri Sembilan (Hervey, 1883: 193-94) and the negritos of Upper Perak (Evans, 1937: 232). It occurs in *SM* (B: 109), in the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* (Maxwell, 1881: 500-01; Sturrock, 1916: 91-91), and in *Hikayat Acheh*. All derive from early Malay versions of the *Ramayana*. The translations by Brown and Maxwell and a translation of Sturrock's text are given in Appendix 1. The details of the story vary. The birthplace may be a bamboo, a large fruit, an areca-nut spathe, a mass of river foam. A similar tale is told of a place in the Punjab (Steel, 1894: 71-77). Does the story derive from the Hindu myth-complex which surrounds the vision of Markandeya the Supreme Being, pictured as a body lying in the cosmic ocean and out of it growing a golden-petalled lotus with Brahma seated at its centre (see Zimmer, 1947: 51)?

6. *baginda melihat terlalu sukachita lagi dengan paras-nya*. The author can hardly have meant "He saw that she was full of joy as well as beautiful". Better would be something like *baginda terlalu sukachita melihat anak itu amat baik paras-nya*. For translation I have taken this as the right wording. Cf. below, at foot of p. 48, where almost the same sentence occurs again in the same context.

7. *Hai bapa orang muda*; but *bapa*, redundant and meaningless here, is perhaps an insertion by a Malay copyist puzzled by some confusion of subject in the dialogue. *M.* substitutes *Raja Ahmad* for *orang tua*. Clearly it was *Raja Ahmad*, not the old man, who wanted the child more than gold or gems.

8. *tempat bersembunyi*. *M. . . . bersambaran* is a misreading. I have translated this passage in the sense evidently assumed by the copyist, who took *ketika* to refer to days of the week. But perhaps his alterations have distorted what is really a reference to the five Hindu periods of the day, i.e. "towards evening (at a lucky time). . . . the next morning *jumaat*", cf. Skeat, 1900: 545. In one other place only (p. 82) is a similar reference found, also to *jumaat*. Wilkinson (1906: 54) records a Malay belief that it is unlucky to start an undertaking on a Friday, which the *Qur'an* enjoins as a day of prayer and "quest for the bounty of God" (Sura LXII, v. 9-11; Rodwell: 374).



9. *sa-telah sudah mandikan-nya di-tebing sungai*. A phrase *di-hantar-kan-nya pula ka-(tebing)* has been left out after . . . *mandikan-nya*. See text above and M. p.2.

10. Because of other unfriendly elephants there? The significance of this parenthesis is obscure. Known to folklorists as the Tale of the Sagacious Elephant, the story of an elephant carrying on its back a person, usually a child, who becomes a ruler is found elsewhere in Malay historical romances; the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* (Sturrock, 1916, 61-62), the *Hikayat Raja Muda* and also in the collection of Indian tales called *Katha Sarit Segara* (Tawney, 1884, 101-02). See Appendix 2.

11. *berbesan-lah ia*. W. *besan*, the relationship of persons whose children have intermarried. *Ia* must therefore refer to Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad, the two foster-fathers. But in the line above *di-dudok-kan-nya* can only mean that the two children lived together as man and wife when they had grown up. This is clear from the second sentence of the paragraph below . . . *dua laki-isteri itu*.

11a. *Merah Silu*. v.I. p 11. Hurgronje (1903, 74) corrects D.'s *Marah Silou* to *Merah Silau*, which he says is the proper Achinese form of the title. But to conform with the spelling adopted by most modern commentators I have retained *Silu* (Dutch *Siloe*).

12. *Merah Hasum*. SM. *Merah Chaga* who is made the elder son, *Merah Silu* the younger. It is at this point that the shorter version of the Semudera-Pasai story in *Sejarah Melayu* begins (R.O.W. pp 70-79; B. pp. 40-49).

12a. *hulubalang* = *ulu-bala(ng tentera)*, head of the troops, captain. But in HRP the word is used of war-chiefs and territorial chiefs equal in rank to *menter*. Where they are mentioned in contexts apart from fighting I have used the general word "chief" in place of "captain".

12b. Such expressions as these, depicting armed conflict as a titanic struggle, are a convention in the oldest Malay romances. For other battle scenes described in similar words see pp. 67-68 & 97-98.

13. *Beruana*, the modern Beureuen, between Semerlanga and Pasangan. See map. SM says that the two brothers came from Mount Sanggong and were living near Pasangan. The name occurs in the list on p. 106.

13a. *gelang-gelang*; B. galley-worms. Is this an obscure reference to the kingdom of Gegelang which comes in the Panji legend cycle?

14. SM tells this story in much the same words. But it implies that *Merah Silu* had been fishing regularly for some time, throwing away any galleyworms that got into the trap, before he tried the experiment of boiling them. And it does not give the reason, that he thought them a gift from God. Both D. and M. omit short sections of this passage, evidently through misreading of a series of repetitive sentences.

15. *dalam bubu-nya*. Is this an error for *dalam kawah-nya* which fits in better with the train of thought that follows?

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16. SM. Merah Chaga "was so angry with his brother that he was minded to kill him". B. says that this is probably not meant to be taken literally. But is the author noting the behaviour of a fanatical convert?

17. . . . banyak tempat-nya makan. The sense is doubtful. Perhaps the author really meant "We have only to find large enough pastures and, however numerous your (or our) buffaloes are, there will be plenty of places where they can feed".

18. MS. جرنا = Jeran, Jerana? MS 18. جرنا , B. Jerun. M. Rimba Jerau is obviously a misreading. No place of this name is found on modern maps of Aceh. Burkill (Dict., s.v. Sida) says that *Jerun* = *seleguri*, the yellow-flowered mallow used in Magic. SM omits the cock-fighting and buffalo-trap episodes and Merah Silu's dealings with Megat Iskandar. The names Megat Iskandar and Megat Kedah are of interest in view of Semudera-Pasai's relations with Kedah and later with Malacca.

19. akan membawa pekerjaan itu — to express their warm regard for Merah Silu? Or to gain his support and consent to be their ruler, a course favoured by Megat Iskandar?

20. See below, p. 54. Tun Aria (=Haria) Benong was one of Maliku'l-Nasar's chiefs.

21. MS في غالبه , M. *fighalib-lah*, = Ar. *f'il-ghalib* "as a general rule"? Me. " . . . et la guerre commenca" seems to be just a guess. Perhaps the form arose from misunderstanding of an earlier copyist's amendment in the text; see line below, *ghalib-lah* " . . . was successful". I have not translated this sentence.

22. MS. and D. di-kubu-kubui-nya. M. *di-kubui-nya* is wrong. Several nineteenth century observers have written accounts of Malay stockade (*kubu*) fighting, see e.g. McNair (1878: 255-57).

23. MS. بارس here and on p. 54, M. Baras. By the end of the thirteenth century there was a trading settlement, probably under Hindu chiefs, at Barus on the west coast of Sumatra. It is Marco Polo's *Fansur* (v.I. p.10), from its alternative Arabic name of *Panchur* (a spring of fresh-water). Its chief products seem to have been camphor (*kapor barus*) and gold.

Malay courts attached importance to the distinction between *sembah*, obeisance as from a vassal to his overlord, and *salam*, greetings as between equals. The word *sembah* signified the raising of the hands to the head as in supplication. But in classical Malay it came to be used of the words spoken when a subject addressed his ruler. It is used with both meanings in HRP. MS (B. p. 98) tells of the pretensions of Pasai in reading *sembah* for *salam* in letters addressed to the court.

The passage under note, with its premature mention of Pasai for the first time, is not found in SM. It is probably an example, one among several in Part I of HRP, of a later interpolation (v.I. p. 43) by a scribe anxious to acclaim the importance of Pasai.

24. MS. *perkasa alat kerajaan*. D. writes *perkasa*, but this must be a copyist's error for *perkakas* (M.). SM *perkakas kerajaan*, the regalia which affirm the sovereignty of a Malay ruler.

25. MS. مشيري, M. Mengiri, here and throughout the text; but in the list of place-names on p. 106 it is spelt معير, M. Miari. MS 18 معبري which R.O.W. transliterates *Ma'abri*. S. writes *M'utabar* for معتبري. These three Arabic words are all very similar. The first two differ only in the consonant pointing. They provide a good example of the confusion that can arise when copyists transcribe unfamiliar place-names, a point to which Ferrand has drawn attention (1913: 13). The negeri I have translated "city" wherever the sense allows; otherwise "country" or "settlement". *Ma'abar*, signifying a fording-place, was, as pointed out by Marrison (1951: 31), the Arab name for the provinces of south India on the Straits opposite the island of Ceylon. Later it came to mean the whole of the Coromandel coast. Marrison considers that the author's intention, obscured by later misunderstanding of the text, was to say that the ship going to Semudera had set out from the Coromandel coast.

For *ada pun pertama ada SM* has the more idiomatic *tetapi ada pula* "Apart from this there will also be . . .".

26. This paragraph and part of the next are good examples of passages where the two versions agree so closely in wording as to leave no reasonable doubt that the author of SM was using a written text very like Part I of HRP as we have it now (v.I. p. 30). Common to both are *pada suatu hari Merah Silu pergi berburu; ia menyalak di-atas tempat tinggi; di-lihat-nya (ada) sa-ekor semut besar-nya seperti kucing; tanah tinggi itu . . . di-perbuat-nya akan tempat (istana-nya); di-namai . . . Semudera, erti-nya semut besar*.

The key to the origin of the name Semudera may be an idea which the author is trying to express that Semudera must be *semut raya*, giant ant, ". . . erti-nya semut besar". SM says that the dog's name was Pasai. See note 63.

27. SM places the dog-ant story before the two passages which describe the prophecy and the first moves in Mecca towards its fulfilment, not as in HRP between them where it interrupts the main narrative.

The SM version of the Semudera conversion story is a good deal shorter than the HRP one. It is not possible to say how far the SM account is a condensation of the material available to the author on the one hand, and how far Part I of the extant MS has been expanded by later copyists on the other. In SM there is probably some summarizing of the original text. Common to both in the passages under note are: *ada sa-buah negeri di-bawah angin Semudera nama-nya; maka apabila (kamu) dengar khabar negeri itu . . . ; bawa isi (HRP orang dalam) negeri itu masuk ugama islam; ada pula sa-orang fakir di-negeri Ma'abri nama-nya, ia-lah kamu bawa serta kamu; (khalifah) sharif Makah menyuruh sa-buah kapal (akan) membawa segala perkakas (alat) kerajaan . . . di-suruh singgah ka-negeri Ma'abri*. In SM it is to *segala sahabat* (B. Companions?) that the Prophet's words and instructions are given, not to *sahabat baginda di-Makah* (a curious

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hybrid expression, v.I. p. 35). And in SM it is *sharif Makah* ("Ruler of Mecca") who orders the ship to put in at Ma'abri, not the captain of the vessel named in the next line as Shaikh Ismail.

28. The dialogue of superfluous length apparently needed to establish the *bona fides* of the pilgrim ship in the the paragraph above is reduced in SM to a single question and answer. But in the last paragraph of ten lines describing the actions of the ruler of Ma'abri the wording of the two versions is in very close agreement. The short remark in HRP about the food sent to Shaikh Ismail is replaced by a statement about the declaration made by the men on the ship of their purpose in coming to Ma'abri.

29. *Ada sa-orang orang menampong dagu-nya dengan segala jari-nya.* "A man hiding his chin with the fingers of his hand(s)". By placing one hand over the other? By covering his mouth with his fingers, so that his identity would not be revealed to Merah Silu? The second *orang* is redundant.

30. *barang pengajar-nya.* Not, surely, ". . . obey every one of their teachers"? I read *pengajaran-nya* for *pengajar-nya*.

31. *yang di-bawah suchi-lah.* MS سجيّه ; D. سجيل is a misreading. *suchi*, W. "to cleanse, purify", usually in a religious sense. SM has *khatan*, circumcised; but see note 33, below.

32. The recitation of these words, which may be in the shorter form "I testify that there is no God but God, and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God", is a necessary preliminary to a person's admission to the religion of Allah and His Prophet. But both versions say that Merah Silu made this formal attestation of his adherence to Islam after he had been received into the brotherhood of the new faith, not before it. Presumably the words spoken by the Prophet in Merah Silu's dream "*sekarang islam-lah engkau dengan mengucap du'a kalimat al-shahad*" (bottom of p. 55) do not mean "Now you are a Muslim by virtue of your reciting the profession of faith". For Merah Silu was unable to say the words until after he had woken from his sleep. The original author may have meant, I think, that here was the working out of a special dispensation inherent in the words of the ancient prophecy.

33. SM represents Merah Silu's dream as happening in the night of the arrival of the ship from Ma'abri not forty days before. The account of the dream is much shorter than in HRP. It mentions only the Prophet's appearance to Merah Silu, his spitting into Merah Silu's mouth, and Merah Silu's discovery on waking that there came from his body "a fragrance as of spikenard" (*bau narwastu*).

Other details in the HRP version of the dream, the instructions given by the Prophet, the magical circumcision, the dreamer's correct recitation to an uncomprehending audience after waking, are mentioned in SM in another dream story which the author attributes to Raja Tengah of Malacca.

34. In place of this sentence SM has a 21-line passage describing the visits of the pilgrim ship to four other states in north Sumatra. In all of them the people embraced Islam, though none were found who could recite

the *Qur'an*. (Presumably Perlak is meant to be included with the other places, in whose case it is expressly stated three times that none could recite the *Qur'an*). It seems unlikely that this passage occurred in the original HRP. Was the author of SM trying to discredit the claim of Semudera to be the first of the "countries below the wind" to embrace Islam?

35. There is a lacuna in the text. The last three lines should probably read "... sa-orang orang menjala ikan. Maka kata faqir itu "Apa nama negeri ini?". Maka sahut-nya orang itu "Nama negeri ini Semudera". Maka kata faqir itu "Siapa nama penghulu-nya?" ... etc. as in M. SM makes Merah Silu himself the fisherman whom the faqir addressed.

36. *Daru'l-islam*, "The Domain of Islam", i.e. part of the world under the peace of Islam as opposed, the author may be implying, to *daru'l-harb* the domain of war which Semudera had been before. See Wilkinson (1932, 84).

37. *Shaikh pun menyuruh ka-Semudera*. Some words have been omitted. Perhaps the sentence is meant to read *Shaikh Ismail pun menyuruh menghantar segala perkakas alat kerajaan ka-Semudera*.

38. *nobat Ibrahim Khalil*, "The drum beaten for Ibrahim the Special Friend of God". It is a belief of Islam that the patriarch Ibrahim was specially honoured with the confidence of God. The writer of this passage is probably saying, as Wilkinson points out (1932, 83-4), that the people of Semudera waited for the festival of Ibrahim, a time which was "auspicious" (*ketika yang baik*) because it was usual then for Muslims to do homage to their ruler.

We are told that the Muslims brought with them from Ma'abri the insignia for the enthronement of a ruler. These included the installation-drum (*ganderang tabal* — see below) and the instruments of a royal band (*nobat*). This "drumming" of the new ruler, a custom followed a century later at the Malacca court (cf. B. p 143) and still observed in certain of the Malay States today (see Winstedt, 1934, 159-60), confirmed in Malay eyes that Semudera was part of "The Domain of Islam".

39. Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din and (Sayid) Asmayu'd-din. MS سید علی غیان الدین and سمايم الدین. In MS 18. the spelling of the names is slightly different, viz. سید غلي غيات الدین and سید سمايد. B. Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din and Saidi Asmayu'd din. SM gives their non-Muslim names as *Seri Kaya* and *Bawa Kaya*.

40. Cf. the gifts of merchandise presented to the ruler of Maiapahit by his subjects, p. 100. These rare commodities, the most costly in the markets of the day, are often mentioned in Malay *hikayat*, see e.g. *Cherita Jenaka* (1941: 98). *ambar*, believed at one time to be produced by a fish which drank the sap of the tree *Pauh Janggi*, is a secretion of the spermaceti whale: see note 211. Barbosa (1921, 106) reported its finding in the Nicobar and Maldive Is., and De Eredia (1930, 245) in Borneo. Camphor, a crystalline extract of the wood of *Dryobalanops aromatica*, seems to have been mentioned first by Chau Ju-Kua ca 1225. Throughout the centuries writers have described its value in the trade of South East Asia — see e.g. Pires (1944, 161), Linschoten (1610, 43 & 61), Crawford (1820, 516-7).

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gaharu (Skr., heavy) and chandan (Hind.) are two varieties of a scented wood called agila or eagle-wood, valuable for their medicinal properties. *kelembak*, rendered by the sixteenth century Portuguese *calampat*, *calembuco*, *calambuc* etc., is apparently from a Cambodian term for a form of eagle-wood; in French, *bois de calembours* (Gibson-Hill, in litt.).

At the end of the list M. adds *sakalian-nya ada kira-kira sa-ratus bahara*, "They weighed altogether about a hundred *bahara*". I am quite unable to account for this insertion, which is not found in the MS or in D. or Me. As a measure of weight for bulk merchandise the *bahar* was in use in India and in South East Asia from early times. It was equal to 100 *kati*, i.e. about 400 lbs — see e.g. Varthema (1928, 68), Barbosa (1918, 157 f.n.).

41. The meaning of this sentence is obscure. The word *baraka* (Mal. *berkat*) seems redundant in its double repetition. But I take *yang di-pohonkan* to refer to the people of Semudera, the new converts making a presentation through their ruler, and asking through prayer (*du'a*) for the triple blessing of God, His Apostle and His regent on earth (*khalifa*). The order of the words is foreign to Malay idiom, and there has been some corruption of the original text. The expression *khalifa sharif* (*di-*)*Makah* which occurs also on p. 56 is puzzling. The direct translation "the regent (deputy) of the Sharif of Mecca" makes no sense. *Sharif* meant a direct descendant of the Prophet. The *Sharif Makah* was a leader of the Hashe-mite tribe who had both spiritual and temporal power in the holy city of Islam.

SM condenses this paragraph to one sentence, in which there is no reference to the presents entrusted to Shaikh Ismail.

42. The Gayos, about whom this passage is the earliest written record, today inhabit an inland area of Acheh to the north-west of the Batak country. Hurgronje (1903, 75-6) has commented on this note in HRP. He says that at one time the Gayos lived in the basin of the Pasangan river near lake Laut Tawar. There was a belief among their neighbours that they came originally from the coast. The people were known as Gayos before their conversion, so they are now just Islamised Bataks. In the heyday of Acheh they were already Muslims. Their conversion must have taken place slowly ca 1300-1600. Among them a number of pagan customs have survived to the present day; teeth-filing, long houses for unmarried men, special burial rites. (These are described by Cabaton (1912, 273-4) in a commentary on Hurgronje's observations: Gibson-Hill).

We have seen (v.I. pp. 13-14) how the spread of Islam along the coast of north Sumatra would gradually have pushed irreconcilable elements in the local populations further and further inland. We need not suppose that more than a small number of the Gayo people in Pasangan lived near enough to the coast to come within the trading orbit of the Muslim merchants in Semudera. When Ibn Batuta visited Semudera in 1346 he found that Malikul-Zahir had just returned from a raid against the upcountry infidels (see Gibb, 1929, 302).

Hurgronje says that in Pedir an Achinese word *kajoi-kajoi* meaning "running" is in use, and that according to some an archaic Achinese word *gajo-gajo* also has this meaning.

43. In this passage the frequent use of *sa-orang menteri*, *menteri itu* and *segala menteri* may give rise to some uncertainty about what ministers were involved. But the author means that a mission of this importance



included several men of the rank of minister and was led by a senior minister.

44. *sa-buah perahu. sc. dengan sa-buah perahu.*

45. *diri-nya*, MS *دیرین*. But *D. di-beri-nya*, as the sense clearly requires.

46. *baju warna bunga jambu. jambu* has various meanings: the guava fruit, the cashew, various species of *Eugenia* (from which Malays used to extract a red dye, s.v. Burkill's Dict., *Eug.*). But here simply "rose-coloured" (*Mal. kelat merah*). The two versions of the story describe in detail the striking costume worn by the princess to attract the visitors' notice. This rose-coloured jacket is the only item common to them both.

47. *SM* omits certain details mentioned in *HRP*, the ministers' request to Maliku'l-Saleh which led to the search for a bride, the inclusion of skilled marriage-brokers in the mission to Perlak, Maliku'l-Saleh's consultation with his astrologers (see below). Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din is named as the minister in charge of the negotiations. It is stressed that he chose Princess Genggang without knowing that she was *anak gundek*. The king of Perlak "laughed merrily" (B. p. 43) at the success of the deception. It may be that the writers of both versions altered the text of the original story: *HRP* by bringing in the astrologers and by glossing over the embarrassing details, *SM* by drawing attention to them — "... He knew not that Princess Genggang was only the daughter of a secondary wife".

48. *membilang-bilang ramal-nva*, lit. "They traced out figures in the sand". But to the writers of Malay *hikayat* *Ar. ramal* meant a table of astrology (*nujum*). References in *HRP* to divination, see e.g. p. 89, illustrate the pattern of pre-Islamic practices surviving in the new religious climate (cf. Overbeck, 1923: 282 ff.), ideas which lay behind the choice of "auspicious occasions" (*ketika yang baik*) so often mentioned in the text.

49. *MS. ambil. But M. di-ambil* is more grammatical.

50. *menteri itu juga*; the chief minister, Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din? Or is stress being laid on the fact that it was "the same minister as before"?

51. *akan MS. منتکن paduka anakanda itu. M. mintakan, D. menumpangkan.* But perhaps *menghantarkan* is meant, as in *SM*. Another possibility is *menaikkan* — see eight lines below, *menghantarkan naik anakanda*. But this *naik* may well be a copyist's misreading of *paduka*, which seems the most likely word in the context. See note 67.

52. *kain yang mulia-mulia*, clothes of the kind worn by people of high birth. In *HRP* *mulia*, *kemuliaan* are often used of things which are mark of aristocratic birth, or actions which denote respect for it. Cf. above, *di-permulia-nya dengan beberapa kemuliaan*, of Maliku'l-Saleh's honouring the princess on her arrival, which *SM* renders more formally as *dengan sa-ribu kemuliaan dan kebesaran*.

53. *tuan puteri bergandi itu*. I think this is the right reading in view of *MS. رام گندی* two lines below. But in the list of place-

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names on p. 106 the name of the locality is written رام كندی ; M. Rama Gandi and Rama Kendia, main gandi, archery (Jav. *gandewa*, a bow), but in Me. "avait danse le *gandey*" the word has been read as (ber)gandai, W. "a mode of dancing or posturing".

The last three lines would make better sense if *akan tempat-tempat tuan puteri bergandi itu* were taken after *perbaik*, i.e. "... the palace which they had had built Sultan Maluku's Saleh ordered to be enlarged for the princess to practise archery".

54. The SM version of this episode is a summary of HRP, the wedding festivities and the giving of presents being in almost the same words. SM does not mention the protracted farewell to the princess before she left Perlak or the palace built for her near Jambu Ayer.

55. *benua keling*, "the land of the 'Indians'". The Kalinga kingdom arose ca 800 B.C. The territory covered by it is uncertain, but it probably included Orissa, Ganjom and Vizagapatam (Levi, 1923, 11). The important part played by traders from Kalinga in developing routes eastwards round the Bay of Bengal and later across it led to the adoption of the word for the east coast of India. Braddell (1935, 105-6) has shown that the Malay use of the term *Kaling* or *Keling* for an Indian dates from the fourteenth century.

56. MS. آسف , Ar. *asfa'*, reef, lode-mine. Both D. and M. have misread this as *asap*, vapour. For comments on the use of this word and *ma'dan* (note 57. below) v.I. p. 30.

57. MS. مدن , Ar. *ma'dan*, mine (Mal. *lombong*). D. معدن , M. *mēdan* which is meaningless.

58. Fr. Odoric (1913, 150; v.I. p. 14) says that gold was found in Semudera "in great abundance". The *Ying yai sheng lan*, the record of Ma Huan's travels ca. 1425-32, mentions the gathering of gold and the trade in it in Palembang and Jambi (Rockhill, 1915, 154-5). Hamilton (1727, 108) and Marsden (1794, 135) describe lode-digging and washing for alluvial gold in Indragiri and Acheh. Braddell (1935, 103) has shown the important part that the trade in gold played in attracting merchants from India to South East Asia before the time of the Portuguese. Gibson-Hill (in the press) has discussed early mining methods, the *lombong Siam* and the Korinchi miners. In the heyday of Semudera-Pasai as a trade emporium gold may well have been a valuable commodity in its export market. If we replace powers of divination by trade incentive the story told here may be entirely true. It is not mentioned in SM.

59. *beraḡiqa*, Mal. *akikah* is a ceremony now becoming obsolete among Malaysian Muslims. Winstedt (1909 (a), 4) says that its proper meaning is the sacrifice of goats on the seventh day in honour of the infant child and in intercession for its future welfare. The child's head is shaved and its feet are made to touch the ground for the first time. A provisional name may be chosen for it. According to Skeat (1900, 341-2) *akikah* is also used of payments made by the devout to pilgrims to take locks of a child's hair and cast them in the well Zemzem.

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60. *ia di-rajakan dalam negeri Semudera itu*. This cannot mean that Maliku'l-Tahir was made the ruler of Semudera. He became the first ruler of Pasai — see p. 63. This is evidently an error, one of several inserted by a copyist ignorant of the identity of a Semudera-Pasai ruler known to him as Maliku'l-Tahir. The statement is not found in SM.

61. *M. tatkala di-lihat oleh pelandok . . .* supplies the words obviously missing in MS *tatkala pelandok . . .* In the line below *di-salak-nya . . . oleh pelandok* presumably means that the mousedeer barked back at the dog. This vocal reciprocity seems a rather unlikely notion for a Malay folk-tale, and if the writer meant to illustrate the fighting spirit of the mousedeer one might have expected a more pointed and idiomatic expression like *di-salak-nya pula akan . . .*. The SM version (Iskandar-Malacca, see note 63) says instead *di-terajangkan oleh pelandok putih*, "(the dog) was kicked by a white mousedeer".

62. *kerajaan*. This use of a substantival form as a finite verb in place of (*akan*) *menjadi raja* is a common idiom in Malay classical literature. Cf. S. p 33 *telah berapa lama-nya Seri Tribuana kerajaan di-Singapura*, "After S.T. had reigned for some time in Singapore", where in the same place MS 18. has . . . *diam di-Singapura*. See Winstedt, Malay Grammar, 1927, 97.

63. HRP and SM between them give this fable, with variations, five times in five separate passages. Common to them all is the story of a chief who founded a city after seeing his dog engaged in a strange encounter while he was out hunting in the forest.

- (1) In HRP, the dog-ant fable of the founding of Semudera, on p. 55.
- (2) The SM version of (1) which is very similar; see note 26.
- (3) The HRP dog-mousedeer fable of the founding of Pasai, given here,
- (4) The SM version of (3), a short summary (B., p 44) which omits any mention of the mousedeer. It gives as the reason for Maliku'l-Saleh's choice of the place that "It was a fine site and looked as though it had been banked up by hand".
- (5) In SM, a dog-mousedeer fable, with all details similar to (3) about the founding of Malacca by Iskandar Shah (B., p 52). The dog, of course, is not given its name Pasai; and there is no mention of the dog barking on high ground, only that it was "kicked" by a mousedeer — see note 61.

I cannot find any good source of this myth, which seems wide-spread in South East Asia. According to Gibson-Hill, Newbold's summary of the missing *Hikayat Patani* refers to a mousedeer "which disappeared when pursued by the first Muslim ruler of Patani". But by the addition of certain *ad hoc* details to explain the origin of place-names, and by the omission of others meaningless in a new context, the writers have adapted the myth to account for the founding of three important "cities". The giant ant is brought in to explain the name *Semudera*. To explain the origin of *Pasai* in (3) the dog is given the name (Si-)Pasai. Presumably the name of the dog slipped into the *Semudera* story in the original text, and was cut out later by a copyist. There is no reason otherwise why it should appear in (2) where it is equally irrelevant.

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But the point of the story in (3), that the place where a normally timorous animal showed unaccustomed fight must be a good one for a city, the SM author lifted out and applied to Malacca in (5). The name Pasai he left out. The name Malacca he derived by saying that Iskandar Shah was sitting under a *melaka* tree. His removal of the mousedeer from (4) left him free to invent a less colourful reason for the founding of Pasai, that it was "a fine site . . .".

64. *sakit* . . . . . *mati*, instead of the more courtly forms *gering* . . . . . *pulang ka-rahmatu'llah* which in the fifteenth century became standard in writing and speaking of a ruler. For a description of these *bahasa dalam* words see Winstedt (1927, 180) and Skeat (1900, 25-26). HRP makes exceptional and inconsistent use of such expressions, cf. p 27 where Sultan Ahmad is *murka* (angry) with his chief minister, and p 34 where he is *marah* with Tun Beraim Bapa.

65. *melenggarakan*; also *selenggara*, *senggara*, of a 'protecting power' guiding the affairs of a state. M. *melenggarakan*, " . . . exercised his powers of divination over" is a misreading.

65a. In supplying this detail of the future ruler's upbringing, not mentioned in SM, the copyist is no doubt revealing a glimpse of palace life in his own day. Some ten years earlier Ibn Batuta (1879, 233) took part in horse and elephant processions, and saw a row of upturned lances marking a halting-place near the palace. v.I. p. 14.

66. For the Semudera-Pasai genealogies, and for some views on their reconciliation with historical fact, v.I. pp. 21-27 *passim*. SM mentions Maliku'l-Saleh's division of his kingdom, "his men, his elephants and horses, and the regalia" into two parts, one for each of the brother-kings.

67. *Paduka Sri Sultan*. *paduka*, Skr. footgear, a title for royalty that arose from the convention that the ruler's subjects addressed their petitions not to him direct but to his feet or to "beneath his feet" (cf. later forms, *ka-bawah kaus*, *cherpu*, *kadam*). *Paduka Sri Maharaja* was the title of the fourth ruler of Singapore ca 1375-88. (Linehan, 1947, 120). It was used by the rulers of Johore (Winstedt, 1928, 12) and is still found as a honorific proper in addressing Malay royalty (see Ghazali, 1933, 275-77). See note 51.

68. MS. مغرور ..Ar. *maghrur*; conceited, vainglorious. M. *mufrura* does not correspond closely to any Arabic word.

69. . . . . *daripada segala yang kebajikan*. Or does the end of the sentence mean " . . . . your prayers for all things that are commendable"?

70. In SM the order of the two *wasiya* is reversed, the last injunctions to the two princes preceding those to their two ministers. The SM version sets out in general the first half of each only, in very much the same words as HRP. e.g. *jangan berbanyak tama' kamu akan segala harta orang (HRP, dunia)* . . . . *kamu-kamu kedua ini (HRP, jangan tiada) muwafaqa dua bersaudara* in Maliku'l-Saleh's words to the princes; and *jangan kamu bersalahan ia dua bersaudara* . . *hendak-lah kedua kamu jangan lagi mengubah-*

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kan setia kamu....dan jangan kamu menyembah raja lain in those to the ministers. Cf. note 106.

I have shown that the use in *SM* of simpler expressions in place of some high-sounding Arabic phraseology in *HRP* is evidence of alterations to the Pasai version made later by a zealous Muslim scribe, v.I. p 27. Malay writers attached importance to the homiletic obiter dicta of dying rulers and often quoted them at great length. The last injunctions of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Shah to his son who became the last ruler of Malacca run in translation (B., 124) to four hundred words.

**71.** *Paduka Sayid al-Marhum Semudera*: lit. "Our Master the Sayid who found God's mercy in Semudera". Superstitious fear of the power of deceased rulers led, as Sir Richard Winstedt has pointed out (1925, 17-8), to the custom of dropping their real names after death. A new title was substituted, *al-Marhum* (The Late) . . . with the addition of an epithet often alluding to the place of his death (Skeat, 1900, 36-37).

**72.** MS. معي = *memberi*, but probably a copyist's slip for *maamur* as in D.

**73.** MS. رزق which D. is right, I think, in amending to ررق, Ar. *rizq*, *razzaq*; means of living, Provider; Mal. *rezeki*. M. *rĕrak* is meaningless. جنهم is perhaps meant for *jerok-lah*, "even the elephants and horses had plenty to eat"? in the line above. The *SM* version of this short paragraph is also puzzling. The words in question here are omitted. *segala raayat, gajah, kuda* . . . are mentioned, but in connection with war-like measures apparently contemplated by the two rulers together, for which no reason is given (R.O.W. p 75). The prosperity of Pasai is dismissed in the short sentence (*Maka negeri Pasai pun makin besar-lah terlalu ramai*). The imperfections in the two texts point to some gloss in the original version which neither copyist has been able to understand.

**74.** MS. *ia pun perahu kami*. D. *itu pun*, but M. *ada pun* is better.

**75.** *Talak Sejang kami panglima-nya*: "and our Talak Sejang is the commander"? In better accord with *HRP* idiom would be *Talak Sejang nama panglima kami* (or -nya). The name in the MS. I read سجڠ, D. *Sedjang*. But it might be سمبڠ, i.e. *Sambang*, or M. *Sembang*.

**76.** M. *taram-teruman*. W. gives *taram-temaram*, "gloomy as of an overcast night". The form *aram-temaram* is given in a list of Malay collective plurals compiled by Wilkinson (1937, 92).

**77.** MS. دل, M. *luli* (swirling round?), but *duli*, dust, is clearly right. See p. 50 . . . *duli berbangkit ka-udara*.

**78.** An entirely different story of the Siamese raid on Pasai is told in *SM* (B., pp 45-7; R.O.W., pp 75-77). Hearing of the greatness of *Semudera* (sic) and that *raja-nya terlalu besar kerajaan-nya*, the king of *Shah-ru'n-nuwi* (= *Shahr'-i-nau*, Pers. "The New City", i.e. *Ayuthia*, founded ca 1350) called on one of his war-chiefs *Awī Dichu* (= *Oya* or *Okya D.*,

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Siam. "army commander", see Marrison, 1949, 62-63 & f.n.) to capture its ruler. Awi Dichu's men went to Semudera disguised as traders and by deception and a show of force majeure seized the "Raja of Semudera". The "men of Pasai" (sic) could not interfere as their Raja was taken off and shipped to Siam, where he was ordered "to tend the palace fowls". Several years passed. Then Sayid Ali Ghiatu'd-din went with a party dressed as Arabs from Pasai to Shahrū'n-nuwi, where by some pretensions and the gift of rare merchandise he secured the release of Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir, here named for the first time in the story, and escorted him back to Semudera.

The confusion between Pasai and Semudera, found in both MS 18. and S., suggests that the writer here has abandoned his usual written source for an invented or hearsay story. The episode has no close parallels elsewhere in Malay historiography.

Marrison (loc. cit.) has collated Malay and Siamese chronicles bearing on the two Siamese attacks on Malacca in the fifteenth century. The title of the Siamese commander in the second campaign, which according to Marrison took place in 1456, was Awi Dichu (cf. Gerini's *Okya Tejo*, 1909, 645, and M.'s comments); that of the commander in the first campaign Awi Chakra, a minister of the highest rank (M.) ? It is interesting to note that there is a certain resemblance between the SM account of the first Siamese attack on Malacca, which M. dates 1445, and the HRP story of the Pasai raid, v.I. p 36. To suggest that the author of SM may have borrowed certain elements from the Pasai story for his account of the campaign is not to invalidate M.'s evidence from Siamese sources, which is not concerned with these points.

78a. See notes 83 & 113, and Genealogies, I., p 21.

79. MS. اندمي M. Andemi. Not on any modern map of Acheh. Perhaps it should be اندلس, Andalas or Andalaz, a little-known state formerly occupying the southernmost part of Sumatra, including the northern shore of the Sunda Strait. We have a few references to it at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Pires, I:139. Barros, Dec. III, (5), ch. 1). Homem marks it on his map of 1554 as Andreias.

80. MS. and M. Sultan itu. But D. writes Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud itu, apparently taking the passage to mean that Maliku'l-Mansur intended to follow in the wake of his brother. This agrees with the SM version of the story, in which Maliku'l-Mansur says *Aku hendak melihat abang-ku*. But HRP says that the two rulers were going in opposite directions; Mahmud upstream, and Mansur downstream "to the coast" (see below). However SM sends Mahmud from Pasai to Jambu Ayer, which he would presumably reach by sea. So in either case Mansur's journey would be downstream from Semudera, and to reach the coast he would pass Pasai. See note 85.

81. *karba jalan dari sana daripada sisi kakanda itu. jalan* presumably refers to Mansur's movements. Even so the meaning is obscure. The nearest reading that makes sense in the context seems to be *kalau jalan ka-sana (dan) ka-sisi kakanda itu*.

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82. *siapa tahu keluar datang fitna*. For *keluar* read *kalau* ? *fitna*, Ar. sedition, temptation, Mal. *fitnah*. SM has *fitnah* both here and in place of *perseteruan* in the line below.

83. These two sentences, and a brief note about his "wife and children" near the bottom of p. 71, are the only references to Mansur's family. According to both accounts he met an early death near Jambu Ayer. Is this curious interpolation a copyist's mistaken repetition of the note about Mahmud's family above? SM says nothing of Mansur's family, and neither text mentions any succession to the Semudera line.

84. Some words to introduce what the ruler said e.g. *maka sabda baginda* (*demikian*) have been omitted from the text. I think M.'s punctuation in the lines above, which would bring these words before *karna itu-lah*, is right. It is possible, however, that the statement about Mahmud being angry with Mansur and Asmayu'd-din was meant to be included in his remarks. The point is of interest inasmuch as SM expressly says that the ruler of Pasai "harboured malice against his brother though he disclosed it to no one". See note 93.

85. MS. *بدام*, Ar. *damm* ? = penalty, blood-wit. M. *berdam-dam-lah*, "swearing vengeance on him" ? But more likely a copyist's misreading of *berdendam-lah*. SM *menaruh dendam*.

Brown has collated the MS 18. and S. texts in the passages describing the origin of the feud between the brother-kings (see his Commentary, notes 127-9). The HRP and SM versions are close enough in wording to prove, as elsewhere, a common source: *kalau (datang) fitnah, tiada juga di-dengarkan, mentua-nya* (see note 87), (*baginda*) *pun berahi*, etc. SM infers that the absence of the ruler of Pasai was discovered only after Mansur had started on his "tour of Pasai" (*mengeliling negeri Pasai*). There is no suggestion that Mansur knew of his brother's absence before he left Semudera. But the prominence given in both versions to Asmayu'd-din's warning casts doubt on Mansur's *bona fides* from the start. See note 93.

86. MS. *توله*, M. *tahu-lah*. But obviously *tuah-lah* is meant.

87. MS *تولس اگخ توکخ سوکار*, M. Tokong Sokara. But in SM a punning allusion to the minister's name shows that *Tukang* is correct. MS 18 . . . . *توکخ سکارای*, B. *Tukang Sekarai*. The full title and name (see below) was *Tun Perpatch Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara*. *تن* (= Tun or Tan) was the personal title of the Semudera-Pasai chiefs and princes in the fourteenth century, and of the Bendahara line in Malacca in the fifteenth. *Perpatch* is an old Sumatran title also associated with Semudera-Pasai and Malacca. Newbold (1839, II, 221) has derived *Perpatch* from *Prajapati*, Lord of Creation, a name applied in the Vedas to Indra. But this is probably wrong. In Javanese history *Perpatch*, = *Parapatch* (see note 190) or *Pepatch*, appears as a form of *Patch*, Skr. *vizier*, chief minister, with which other Javanese titles *Dipati*, *Adipati*, *Bupati* are cognate. For *Patch* see note 186. *Sukara* (= *varaha*) is a Sanskrit and Kawi word meaning hog, a poetic equivalent of *babi hutan*. *Sekarai*, the word used in SM, might suggest association with *sekara*, *sekar*, a flower of Javanese-Malay mytho-

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logy. But I think it more likely that the name is connected with *Sukra*, a Hindu demi-god identified with the planet Venus and mentioned in the *Hari-vamsa*.

HRP has *mentua-nya* in the sentence under note, but the aged minister of Pasai would hardly have been replaced by his father-in-law. SM must be right in saying that he had been replaced as chief minister (*mangku-bumi*) by Tulus Agong Tukang Sukara *akan ganti mentua-nya*, i.e. it was T.A.T.S. who succeeded his father-in-law.

88. *Semudera Daru'l-Islam* ? A writer's slip for Pasai. Some differences between the HRP and SM versions of the rulers' movements have already been noted (ns. 80 & 85). SM says that after the abduction in Pasai Mahmud summoned Mansur "to welcome him". Brown explains the subsequent movements of the two rulers by supposing that Mahmud then deliberately snubbed Mansur by avoiding him on the return to Pasai. In both versions the journeys of Mahmud and Mansur up and down the river and overland, and their purpose in making them, are obscure. But the directions they took are at least understandable if Pasai lay on the same river as Semudera and nearer to the mouth. As we have seen, there is other evidence for this, v.I. p. 15. Brown has not realized that Jambu Ayer lay several days journey away, to the east along the coast. This, as it happens, does not necessarily invalidate his explanation. But I think it is an unlikely one. It receives no support from HRP, a fact not noted by Brown. HRP in fact says that Mansur knew of his brother's absence at the time he set out "to the coast". It does not say that he ever meant to meet Mahmud, and in view of the suspicions about his real intentions it seems unlikely that he wished to do so. SM does not say that it was to Jambu Ayer that Mansur was summoned. HRP makes it clear that news of the abduction reached Mahmud after Mansur had returned to Semudera, where he remained. All this would seem a much more logical course of events in the imagination of a Malay writer. Has each of the two copyists twisted the story to suit his particular bias, SM to create an impression less favourable to the aggrieved ruler of Pasai ? I think HRP is closer to the original — see note 93.

89. MS. and D. *ترچت*, but M. *terchachat* is, I think, right. *chachat*, W. defect, flaw, i.e. "in Your Highness's eyes there will remain a "black mark" against your brother for his action."

90. MS. *تمیغ*, M. *Temiang*; also *Tamiang*, and Ach. *Teumiang*. v.I. pp. 9 & 20.

91. MS *فغلیرن*, D. *فگلیرن*, M. *Pangliran*. Spelt in various ways *Pengliran*, *Pengerang* etc. the title appears as that of princes and other members of the great ruling houses of Java. In Palembang it has been taken by divisional chiefs, and in Brunei by persons of royal descent. It is not a Pasai or Malacca title. In HRP it signifies "loyal chieftain", see e.g. pp. 78, 83 & 96.

92. *di-bawa orang-lah baginda ka-perahu*. *baginda* herer refers to the banished ruler, i.e. the sentence is " . . . akan S.M. al M. pun di-bawa orang-lah akan baginda itu ka-perahu."

93. Common to both versions of this episode, the arrest and treatment of Mansur and his chief, are *segala hulubalang-nya tinggal di-uar*, Asmayu'd-din's words *baik kepala (patek) bercherai dengan badan (jangan) hamba (patek) bercherai dengan tuan* and the sequel *di-suroh kerat (HRP penggal) leher-nya . . . kepala-nya buang ka-laut badan-nya di-sulakan di-Kuala Pasai*. The 18-line discussion in HRP about the plan to dispose of Mansur, and its execution, is condensed in SM to one sentence "The Sultan of Pasai ordered one of his chiefs (unnamed) to take Sultan Malikul-Mansur to Manjong". Brown suggests that this Manjong may have been the one in Malaya. It is true that to a fifteenth century Malay writer Manjong may have meant the ancient settlement on the Perak river. But it is clear from what follows that he put Mansur's place of exile beyond Jambu Ayer Point, presumably in Temiang.

A comparison of the two texts shows fairly clearly that throughout the story of the feud between the two rulers SM is taking a more tolerant view than HRP of Mansur's behaviour, and displaying less sympathy for Mahmud's uncompromising attitude towards his brother. (1) Although both versions mention Asmayu'd-din's misgivings over his ruler's proposed "holiday" SM is much more willing than HRP to dispose of Mansur's action at Pasai as a momentary indiscretion. It says that Mansur had intended visiting his brother — see notes 85, 88. (2) If Brown's idea about the snub paid to Mansur is only hypothesis, nevertheless Mahmud's brooding silence and the menace in his summons to Mansur is meant to show, I think, a more spiteful attitude than his angry outburst in HRP. See notes 84, 88. (3) In SM it is later, in discussions with his minister, that Mahmud talks of killing Mansur. In HRP it is Tukang Sukara who makes the plan, merely to apprehend Mansur, to which Mahmud "agrees" (last half of p. 69). (4) In SM Mahmud's attitude towards the negligent Asmayu'd-din is far more hostile. It is Mahmud who first mentions beheading. In HRP it is the captive minister. Does this difference of attitude reflect the SM writer's prejudice against Pasai?

94. MS *كودين*, which both D. and M. misread *kemudian*.  *pawang* is here used in the original sense of ship's officer, not the magician who is a member of a Malay boat-crew.

95. *Padang Maya*, the Field of the Phantom, v.I. pp 25, 36-37, *maya*, an interrogative particle = What? is not given with this meaning in W. or Wittermans' dictionary. It is rare in classical Malay writing. Brown notes its occurrence six times in SM. SM apparently places *Padang Maya* not far west of Jambu Ayer Point.

96. *Mal. di-talkinkan*. *Ar. talqin*, teaching, coaching, especially of (1) the instructional recitations said in the presence of a child at its birth, (2) the teaching of the responses needed to satisfy the Angel-Interrogators of the Dead in the tomb, read by the *khatib* or *imam* after the grave has been filled in. See Skeat (1900, 406) and Wilkinson (1932, 119).

97. *arwah*, sc. *du'a arwah* itu referring to the *sembahyang* of eight lines above? *du'a arwah* are the last prayers of intercession recited by the side of the grave.

98. There is a lacuna at the end of the sentence, which I take to read in full *sa-telah sampai ka-dalam negeri itu maka diam-lah baginda itu di-sana*.

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**99.** MS *بدیكو* = *budi-ku*. *M. bagi-ku* is wrong. (See note 105.) *SM* gives Mahmud's expressions of remorse in the same words, and adds that by this time his brother had been in exile at Manjong for three years.

**100.** *al-fatiha*, the words of Sura I of the *Qur'an* which form the Muslim's most commonly recited prayer, e.g. at each of the five daily hours of worship, at birth and funeral ceremonies (see Newbold, 1839, I, 252-3, 256-7), on special occasions like the unveiling of the regalia (Wilkinson, 1914, 105) and in for instance the *Suluk* rites of Sumatra (Archer, 1937, 102). For translations of this Sura and comments see Rodwell, 1943, 28 and Arberry, 1953, 34. The Muslim copyist of *HRP* intended only to say that Mansur recited the prayers customary at the time of day before he greeted his dead minister. *SM* omits this, saying merely that he visited Asmayu'd-din's tomb and there greeted him (*memberi salam*).

**101.** *qauma 'l-mu'minina*, but the appropriate form of prayer said by Muslims on entering a graveyard has *ahla'l-qubur* "O people of the Grave" in place of this.

**102.** *M. dua rakaat sa-salam*. *D. dua rak'a salam*. In the *MS* the last word is so written that I cannot say for certain whether it is meant to be *salam* or *sa-salam*. But *MS* 18. has clearly *dua rak'a salam*. What the writer means here, I think, is that Mansur had finished saying one set of prayers followed by the customary ritual movements (*Ar. rak'a*, standing, but used by Malays to cover the whole series of movements), ending with a blessing (*salam*). A second time he recited a set of prayers, and had reached a point when he was prostrating himself on the ground (*sujud*) just before saying the blessing, when suddenly he died. See note 103.

**103.** . . . *dan pada suatu kaul pada ketika sujud-nya baginda berlaku*. *D. ketika* but *M. misreads ketiga*. The text is in part corrupt. There must be, I think, a short lacuna after *sujud-nya*, and I take the sentence as something like . . . *tatkala ia sembahyang (membacha, menguchap ?) suatu kaul pada ketika sujud-nya*. *Demikian-lah hal-nya baginda berlaku itu*.

The *HRP* copyist attaches importance to the exact point in his prayers when Mansur passed away. In *SM* this is mentioned but not stressed. If there is any reason for it, beyond the copyist's wish to show the religious piety of Mansur inasmuch as he passed away at a moment when he was in special communion with God, the text does not make it clear.

**104.** *saperti adat raja-raja*. *SM saperti tertib raja-raja yang besar-besar*, "with all the solemnity that is due to great Rajas". The Malay classics give only glimpses of the rites performed at royal funerals. But descriptions of a later period show that pre-Muslim ceremonies survived as part of them up to the present day, see Hikayat Abdullah (1955, 242), Caldecott (1912, 52), Bryson and Blelloch (1936, 273-4).

**105.** *SM* gives much the same account as *HRP* in the section above which concludes the story of the brother-kings. Conversational passages are reduced in length or omitted altogether. When speech is quoted it is in substantially the same words: *wah, terlalu sekali ahmak budi-ku* (*M. budi-ku*, see n. 99); *karna perempuan sa-orang* etc. (p 24) and *ka-mana pula baginda pergi; baik-lah kita di-sini*. Details found in *SM* but not in *HRP*, besides those already noted are (1) the bringing back of the exiled ruler Mansur

in state (*dengan tertib kerajaan*), and (2) his burial by Mahmud at Padang Maya, not 'at Pasai, points which the SM writer presumably thought stressed the degree of remorse felt by Mahmud. See note 93.

**106.** Cf. Maliku'l-Saleh's last injunctions on p. 64 where the same words occur. There SM omits them, but here it substitutes *jangan engkau peringan-riungan ibadat-fu akan Allah*, "Do not make light of your duties to God" for them. The SM version of Mahmud's dying words are much the same as HRP . . . *hendak-lah engkau meshuarat dengan segala menteri-mu, (hendak-lah engkau) perbanyak sabar-mu*. The second part, giving the moral duties and need for obedience to the Holy Law, are not mentioned. Cf. note 70.

**107.** MS قبة , M. kaabah. But D. writes قبور which elsewhere in the MS. e.g. p 25 is the spelling of qubur, Mal. usually kubur, a grave. I think qubur is right.

**108.** At this point SM abruptly discontinues the HRP narrative. It gives the story of "a man of Pasai" who went to Singapore where he was executed for a petty act of *lese-majeste*, and then proceeds to the history of the Singapore rulers of the late fourteenth century. Singapore is nowhere mentioned in HRP.

**109.** *yoga*, Skr. *yogin* ? or from *yuj*, to join together, harness? *Yoga* was the name given by Indian mystics to the ritual for the attainment of final union with the Universal Spirit through austerities, controlled posture etc., as described in the *Bhagavad Gita* (see 1944, *passim*). The Indian *yogi* was a Siva-worshipping ascetic (see Zimmer, 1947, 39-40) who has been called miracle-worker, conjuror, acrobat. Ibn Batuta (1879, 62-63) describes a performance of *yoga* seen by him on the west coast of India ca 1343.

**110.** M. *keempat tingkat itu mengelok*. MS معلق But the text is obviously corrupt. *kaki* cannot be a measure of length. *lok* is used of a wave, a sinuosity, as in many *keris*. But might the original phrase have been *menjadi ular*, "(the stick) became a snake"? See next sentence.

**111.** *sahut-nya* must be a mistake for *tongkat-nya*. M. omits it.

**112.** The story of Aaron's rod is found in the *Qur'an* (Sura 7, v. 104) and in the Bible (Exodus, vii, 10). Similar tales occur in Malaysian folklore. In the Javanese *Manek Maya* a warrior of the legendary kingdom of Mendang Kemulan "pointed his unsheathed spear to the ground and it immediately sent forth a large snake" (Raffles, 1830, 2, App H, cxxv).

**113.** *Perumudal Perumal*. See p 21 where Ahmad's title is first mentioned. *Perumal* was the name given to the ancient line of kings that ruled over Malabar at Cranganore. Tradition tells of a Cheruman *Perumal* (Famous Great Chief, a Dravidian title) who was converted to Islam by Muslim traders in India and persuaded to abdicate his throne and go to Mecca. The tradition is mentioned by Barbosa (1921, 3-4) and Pires (1944, 78-9), and the full story told by Buchanan (1807, 349 & 474). A variant version of it found in the seventeenth century *Tuhfatul-Mujahidin* (1833, 22 ff.) which records the legend that king *Perumal* bore the name of Abdul Rahman Samuri (or As-Samuri, Lord of the Sea). Some scholars say that

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it was in the form of *Zamorin* (Barbosa, *Camidre*) that the name *Samuri* came to be used later as the title of the rulers of Calicut. Marrison puts these points clearly in his interesting article on the coming of Islam to South East Asia (1951, 28-37). But the resemblance he sees between *Samuri* and *Semudera* must be treated with caution. It is not in dispute that the *Perumal* legend and the *HRP Semudera* conversion story are sufficiently alike to raise the question whether they may have a common origin in Indian legend.

113a. MS.      با — once      تن برايم باف

113b. MS.      درا — once      تن مدم فريا and تن تكيه دار

114. *tujoh depa*, seven fathoms. *depa*, the span of the arms stretched out to their full limit, from finger-tip to finger-tip. *hasta*, a cubit, Skr. hand; the length of the forearm from elbow to finger-tip. The word *hasta* was in use on the Coromandel coast in the earliest days of European trade as a measure of about 18¾ inches (W. H. Moreland, *Golconda*, 1931, 88).

115. MS. *batang* کلمبر , M. *batang kelambar*. The word is not given in W.; possibly a javelin of bamboo or wood with sharpened point like Mal. *seligi*.

116. MS.      دفتن تنيا , M. *pintu tani*, W. "a palace outer gate, from Tamil water-gate?", but cf. p. 84 where *pintu tani* is used of the entrance to a market-place. In chapter 13 of *SM* the story is told of Malacca troops being sent to quell a rising in Pasai and forcing their way through the *pintu tani* (R.O.W., 133), which S. (p 137) writes *tenai*.

117. MS.      لفو      yang bernama دلخنا itu, M. *lepau . . . dalkhana*. From Pers. *khaneh* ? , house. Ibn Batuta, writing of his reception in the audience-hall at the palace of the ruler of *Samothrah* in 1345, says (1871, 231, my trn.) "Then the lieutenant seized me by the hand and led me into a small billet or chamber (Gibb, 1929, 273-4, "a small house"). The people call it a *ferdkhaneh*, a word which in form resembles *zerdkhaneh* apart from the fact that the first letter is an F not a Z. This *ferdkhaneh* was the place where the lieutenant rested during the day".

The *Burhan-Kathi* defines *Ferdkhaneh* as a place where a newly arrived traveller was segregated, as Marre (59, f.n.) points out. This might be Pers. *fardkhaneh*, a private (i.e. personal) house. The Persian words phonetically closest to *zerdkhaneh* and *dalkhana* seem to be *zirkhaneh* (under the house, a cellar ?) and *zaradkhaneh* (an armoury ?).

W. gives the usual meaning of *lepau*, back verandah, kitchen verandah, of a Malay house or shop. But on p. 83 *lepau* is described as *ia-itu selasar istana*, "that is to say, the verandah (or balcony ?) of a palace". In his *Notes on Negri Sembilan* (1914, 47) Wilkinson says that among the perquisites of a ruler was the right to put up a *selasar kuah*, "a gallery built out in front of the porch for guests at a feast". It seems likely that *dalkhana* is connected with *ferdkhaneh*; and also that, whatever the derivation of *dalkhana* it is being used here and in p. 83 to mean a part of the verandah running round the palace, walled off and reserved for guests.

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117a. See pp 43 ff.

118. MS. سمرقندي *Semerkendi* = Samarkand, in Sogdiana, north-east of Persia. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the writings of Persian theologians was becoming known wherever Islam spread and Sufi doctrine gained a hold, cf. the SM account of the problem said to be engaging the attention of "the Divines of the Country beyond the River" (i.e. Trans-Oxiana, Bokhara, Samarkand &c.), which the ruler of Malacca invited a later ruler of Pasai to answer (Winstedt, 1938, 179). M. *Semar Pandita* is an unfortunate misreading.

118a. *Shah Alam Kota*, M. S. A. *Kerat*. See note 132a.

119. MS. *dalam suatu Tun Perpateh pun*. There is a short lacuna, presumably after *dalam*. M. *dalam suatu (masa)* does not help, because in Malay classical writing *dalam* is almost never used of time, and in any case *ketika* and Ar. *zaman* are commoner than *masa*. The full text may be *dalam pada (hal) itu pada suatu hari (?) Tun Perpateh etc.*, "In spite of this (the king's anger), one day . . ."

120. *pendikar*, W. "leader of a charge, swashbuckler". v.I. p 29. The form occurs as a Malay courtesy title up to modern times, cf. *Pendekar Mat Aris*, a famous fencer of ca 1880 (Clifford, 1933, 287-8).

121. *balai panjang* was a special building put up in the palace courtyard for royal celebrations cf. Wilkinson on Rembau, (1914, 39). Aymonier, Dict. Cham-Francaise 1906, derives *balai* from a Cham word *bal* meaning palace. In Malaysia the *balai* at Malay courts was a large open-fronted hall with a wide verandah and private rooms at the back and side. *jambar* (see 6 lines below), W. "shelter, rest-house", may mean one of those rooms. In the main hall of the *balai* a series of platforms led up to the dais on which the ruler sat enthroned to give audiences, see Ghazalli (1933, 279), Forbes (1885, 140-1).

122. the full reading is *dudok ia di-balai panjang penoh dengan sa-balai panjang, dan dudok ia di-jambar panjang sarat dengan sa-balai panjang* — see below. Throughout the Part II story of Tun Beraim Bapa's adventures the cyclical repetition of passages points to the style of the Malay story-teller. Copyists have made many mistakes, v.I. p 38.

122a. MS. برامت فنتي and ميدان فنتي M. *Medan Pantai*.

123. MS. سيد which M. misreads *Sayid-Sayid*. The *sida-sida* (B., 54, "courtiers") ranked as important officials at Malay courts. In Malacca they occupied the body of the hall (*seri balai*) with the senior ministers and chiefs at audiences with the ruler. A Pahang legal digest makes the compensation rights of *sida-sida* the same as those of *menteri* (Kempe, 1948, 10). According to *Adat Raja-Raja Melayu* (Winstedt, 1940, 146) a *sida* was the son of a commoner married to the sister of a *perwira*. But there is nothing to support this in SM (see B., n. 14) or HRP.

124. MS. تادلش *lashkar pendikar keling*. D. *tanda-nya*, but M. *tandil-nya*, (Malay. *tandal*, modern Anglo-Ind. *tindal*) is right. In the

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“maritime culture” language (v.I. p 16) *tandil* meant a petty officer in charge of a party of *lashkar*. Cf. Ibn Batuta’s account of the crew of his ship at Kailukari ca 1348 (1878, IV, 250).

**125.** MS کرب گورقن دان مکر سنجرن , M. *kerba gorak-nya*, not in W. Perhaps “thrust and parry” or “thrusting and slashing”, cf. *korek*, *garek*, *garis* etc., boring, digging, scratching. M. *mekar khanjar-nya* is probably right. *khanjar*, W. “a large double-edged Indian dagger”.

**125a.** MS اورغ تیکر (also تیکن) and فرمان ایسف

**126.** Both D. and M. follow MS. *Paduka Barah Bukit*. But *Barah Bukit* looks more like a place-name, especially in the context of the next eight lines, than like any honorific form of the kind that usually accompanies *paduka*. Perhaps it is a copyist’s misreading of *Padang Barah Bukit*, or it may have some connection with the *pahlawan* of *Kampung Bedil* — see p 81.

**126a.** See note 91 and p 96.

**127.** *kuncha*, W. *kunchah*, a large measure for bales and bundles of things — (Ked.) 160 *gantang*. Skeat (1953, 136) mentions this “Kedah measure” as being used in assessing land-tax in Perlis. *naleh* (below), W. a measure of 16 *gantang*.

**127a.** MS. وست فیرق and وست مقام

**128.** *asal-mu orang terjunan Pangiran*. See p 83 where in repetition the phrase has been expanded to *asal-mu orang terjunan nasab-mu daripada Pengiran* (M. *Pangliran*). Evidently the scribe took *terjunan* to refer to family descent (Me. “descendante d’Orang Terdjounan Panggiran”). See note 150. But this is an unusual meaning for *terjunan*, violent descent, leaping down; and Sir Richard Winstedt (1939, 121) considers it here to refer to *suttee*. *bela keterjunan*, self-immolation by leaping alive onto the pyre, is found in old Malay literature, W.

In this passage I have used the translation given by Sir Richard (*ibid.*), who says that it is in the form of a *gurindam*, or *verse libre*.

For *Pangiran* see note 91.

**128a.** *’dikara* — Skr. *adikara*. “. . . the Noble Tun Derma . . .”

**129.** MS. کتاه , M. *ketah* but the usual transcription is *kutaha*. v.I. p 78. This old interrogative form is found occasionally in the “Blagden rescension” of SM which was written at the end of the fifteenth and in the early part of the sixteenth century, but not in the Shellabear rescension of 1612. Cf. R.O.W. p 83 *Takutkan shaitan gerangan raja ini atau gila-kah kutaha ?* with the same sentence in S. p 62 *Entah kena shaitan gerangan raja ini, atau gila-lah gerangan-nya ?*

**130.** MS. معاف . M. *maaf*, but D. *mengapa* is clearly right.

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131. M. follows MS. *pada ketika selatan*, but D. *pada selatan*. The question introduced by *mengapa* I have taken as running on as far as (*ketika*) *selatan*. *ketika* is puzzling. Possibly it is an obscure reference to *bintang ketika*, "at a time when . . . . . and the Pleiades are (setting) in the south".

132. MS. هارين , M. *hari ini*, D. *hari-nya*. Below where the words are repeated M. has *hari-nya*. *Dinihari* is an archaic form found in the oldest Malay *hikayat*, = Jav. and Skr. *dina*, day + *hari*. The phrase here is a half-poetic expression for "in the first light of dawn".

132a. *Shah Alam Kota*, M. S. A. *Kota*. But cf. p 75 (note 118a) where M. reads the name of one of Ahmad's chief ministers as S. A. *Kerat*. In both places the MS. reading, كوة or كرة, with all three letters joined, is doubtful. The two contexts do not preclude the possibility, even the likelihood, that the same person is meant in both. I read *Kota* in both places.

133. *bendahari-nya*, MS. بندھرين . In SM *bendahari* means the equivalent of treasury or secretariat (see B., note 1a), but the word here cannot stand for the senior official whose duty it was to collect revenue. It is probably a mistake for *bendari*, a "maritime culture" term for kitchen-maid.

134. *peti long*, MS. لوغ ; not found in W., but Winstedt in his Mal-Eng. Dict. gives "long; a Malay coffin". The word is certainly in current use in north Malaya today. But it is not found, as far as I know, anywhere else in classical texts. If this is its meaning here a word must be missing after it, before *pemipis*. Possibly *long* is a copyist's misreading of *mengeluarkan* which the sense requires — see six lines below, . . . *mem-bukakan sa-buah peti mengeluarkan segala pakaian*.

135. *kejasmas*, W. "hair lotion, any material used when washing the head", but no sources are given. *bedak* (below) is a cosmetic made from powdered rice mixed with lime (*kapur*) and washed with citron juice (see e.g. Skeat, 1900, 400).

If the text warranted it, the best sense here would be " . . . and mixed them (i.e. the powder and the lime juice) to make *kejasmas*".

136. Descriptions of fine costume in fantastic detail are common in Malay *hikayat*, cf. the clothes worn by Radin Ayer Mas in *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (1915, I, 158) which include (be) *permata pudī* ("[studded with] myriads of fine gems"), *manikam* ("precious stones"), *mutiara* ("pearls"), *kamar* (= Jav. *kemar*, clasp).

The text is obviously corrupt in parts, and I can offer no explanation of *ليا بين ٢* , M. *lia bena-bena*, of line 1; *ميك* , M. *mega*, of line 5; *نكس* , M. *nekas*, of line 12.

*برفنج* (1. 1) is *berpuncha*, W. *puncha*, "loose end, extremity" but meaning here, I think, a loose fold hanging down at the back, cf. *di-puncha-nya* in line 3. M. *berpancha*, "in five iridescent colours"? cannot

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be right دكار . M. *dikara*, may mean "noble", cf. *mulia* (note 52), but is more likely to be a corruption of *madukara*, W. "a cloth-fabric of silk and gold . . ."

Whatever the meaning of بندي in 1. 3 *bergiring-giring*, swinging to and fro, is used according to W. of spherical bells e.g. in the *dabus*-dancer's attire. Such bells were called *giring*.

*berterapan* in 1. 4 is probably (*ber*) *terapang*, encased in thin gold plate e.g. of a *keris* scabbard. MS. برترافن

*china kepaluan* in 1. 6, MS گفلون , Me. "peinte de la Chine", may be connected with *palu*, W. "hammering, striking off a printed copy". Perhaps "the colour of Chinese printed cloth"? Or did a 16th century copyist put in *chita kepala-nya*, ". . . of chintz for his head"?

M. reads برکرس in 1. 9 as *berkeras*, but I take it as *berkeris*, "wearing a dagger inlaid with . . ."

سفک in 1. 12 is presumably *sangga*, W. "projecting guard or support", a catch on the belt for holding a weapon.

137. *kuda semberani anak kuda Perasi*. My enquiries among Persian scholars confirm Brown's belief (B., note 412) that *semerani* may be derived from Pers. *sum* 'hoof' and *par* 'wing' i.e. "the fleet horse." Appearing as a shadow-play figure and a stylized motif in Malay decoration (Skeat, 1900, 29 & 514) the *kuda semberani*, the winged Pegasus of Malaysian mythology, is mentioned in the *Bharatayuddha* (Raffles, 1830, I, 431). Ibn Batuta (1879, 230-9 *passim*) shows the prominent part that horses played in court ceremonial at Semudera. Indian traders imported Arab breeds into South East Asia wherever they settled. The flying-through-the-air theme which occurs in several Malay folk-tales, *Hikayat Raja Muda* and *Hikayat Indera Mengendera* for example, found its classical setting in the Arabian Nights story of Hassan of Bassorah.

MS. فراسي , M. *Perasi*, is more often transliterated *Parsi*, *Farsi* (= Persian).

138. MS. کلق کلابو , M. *Kelak Kelabu*. The nearest Malay words *kelam kelabu* = *kelam kabut*, murky, smoky, might possibly mean grey, of the horse's colour. Perhaps on the other hand, the text is a corruption of (*kuda*) *yang bergelar* of 1.3 above.

139. MS. کيل , M. *kial* but D. *gila* must be right, unless Hind. *khayal*, light-headed, excitable, is meant.

140. MS. *serunai serama*. But the second *serama*, omitted by M., is clearly redundant. *serama*, W. "a drum of which one end is beaten with drumstick, the other with the hand."

141. MS. برتنجون , M. *bertinjuan*, "make a feint at"? But *tinju*, to aim a blow with the closed fist, to box, is not found elsewhere in old Malay literature. The right word may be *bertujuan* which I have taken to mean "turned in the direction of . . ."

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142. MS. انيام , M. Anayam; but perhaps meant for anyam(an) "A Network of Melody"? Cf. two lines below *Puspa Ragam* "The Air of Many Tones" ?

143. dengan segala guru-nya. This must be a mistake for dengan sa-orang guru-nya. The names of Tun Beraim Bapa's five "masters and old friends" are, it may be noted, the same as those on p 76 except for the first, and they appear in the same order. See note 126.

144. MS. دكرتفكنن , M. di-keretangkan-nya. But the word here must be a variant spelling or a misspelling of di-gertakkan-nya. kertak is found less commonly for gertak, to shake, brandish a weapon.

145. MS. دكيامنن , M. kiaman-nya, "leaving his left hand empty"? Or perhaps "leaving only the straps in his left hand", cf. ulu-nya in the line below.

146. MS. بلمفي , M. belumpai. W., presumably following M.'s transliteration, says "- belum sampai ?" and quotes this passage as the only reference. D. misreads بلمفي ada. The most likely rendering is, I think, belum pe(r)nah.

146a. See note 8.

147. lepau yaani selasar istana. See note 117. SM describe selasar as a part of the palace, a roofed gallery where children slept (S. p 117) and where horses were stabled (R.O.W. p 156).

148. MS. تمين ليانن , M. Temin Liangan. Perhaps the name was Temiang Layangan, "The Bamboo that Flies through the Air" ?

149. MS. and D. tiang Dara Zulaikha itu. But M. tiang dalkhana itu must surely be what the writer meant, in view of what is said about lepau above.

150. nasab-mu. nasab, W. "lineage, . . of bearers of the family name". The use of this word shows that the copyist took *terjunan* to refer to family descent, not to widow-burning. See note 128.

150a. MS. جان بجاييم , M. (their chieftain ?) *Jana Bijayam* is wrong. W. *jana bijana* (Skr. *dhyana*, life) "birth-place".

151. MS. برسيل , M. bersila, Me. rama-rama bersil which might mean " . . emerging from their holes" (?) ; but more likely (te) persil, W. " . . of an eye partly gouged out". rama-rama here must be some kind of shell-fish. W. rama, Menangk. "to spawn (of fish)"; and berama-rama, "scallop".

152. MS. بردايغ ; M. berdayong is presumably right. W. dayong "oar, or the breast-fin of a fish". According to Gibson-Hill, *kepiting dayong* is a swimming crab, one of several species having the terminal section of the hindermost pair of limbs flattened like the blade of a paddle.

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153. MS. لمبدق مفيد , M. *lembedak mengidam*. W. says "lam-bedak, a species of fish unidentified" and quotes this passage as his only source. Burkill (Dict., s.v. *Caranx*) gives *lembudok* as a species of horse-mackerel, but this is a marine, not a freshwater species.

In Malay *hikayat* (*meng*)*idam* is often used of a pregnant woman's morbid longings, which according to belief must be granted. But the root meaning of *ngidam* (Jav. *nyidam*, cf. Crawford, 1820, II, 102) is "bearing fruit, having young".

154. MS. and D. *bahwa aku hendak makan*. A phrase like that in ls. 17-8 has been omitted, and the text should probably read *bahwa aku hendak bermain-main ka-hulu sungai* (or perhaps *ka-Lubok Tura*, see below) *hendak makan* as in M.

155. MS. and D. *Maka pergi-lah kamu kedua ka-Tukas kapada Tun Beraim Bapa*. But this has already been said, at the beginning of the speech given here, and the next sentence proceeds at once to what happened after the two messengers had reached Tukas. I have taken the Sultan's words as ending at *patin bertelor*, and the proper reading of this sentence to be *Maka pergi-lah mereka itu kedua ka-Tukas . . .* This is the wording in M.

155a. The Cavern of Tura. See p 90.

155b. See p 87 where the speech occurs again with minor variations in wording.

156. These words of Tun Beraim Bapa, in the idiom of classical Malay, occur in two later passages, on pp 87 and 98. A similar but shorter passage occurs in *SM* (R.O.W. p 147) *jikalau aku di atas gajah-ku Si-Batang, Malaka sa-Malaka-nya, Pasai sa-Pasai-nya*. Cf. also *HRP* p 101 *dari kulun sa-kulun-nya, dari wetan sa-wetan-nya*.

157. *Maka Malik Sulaiman pun lalu tangis-tangisan kedua-nya*. There is a short lacuna before *lalu*. I take the sentence to read *Maka sa-telah di-dengar oleh M.S. akan sabda baginda itu lalu . . .*

158. *tiga jengkal lilit. jengkal*, W. "the span between the tips of index-finger and thumb." . *lilit*, "coiling round". I can find no other instance in old Malay literature of *jengkal lilit* used together; but see *Hikayat Malim Deman*, 1937, 32 *sa-lilit kelengkeng kanan*, "coiled once round the little finger of the right hand", as a measure of length. Cf. the dimensions of Tun Beraim Bapa's spear on p 92, and of the Majapahit ruler's buffalo on p 101.

159. MS. لحوث , M. and D. *laju-nya*; but perhaps a copyist's misreading of *lajak-nya*. *lajak*, to bound forward, overshoot the mark.

*Sa-rantau* means the distance between one bend (*tanjong*) in the river and the next, say a quarter to half a mile.

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160. MS. فرکن , M. pergi-nya; but D. perkara-nya must be right.

161. MS. لوبق سڠگون , M. Lubok Sanggong. lubok, lobok, a deep pool or cavity under water; hence here the name of a particular locality on the river.

162. hingga patah-lah tulang bahu patek, "Even if the very bones of our shoulders are broken . . .". See p 84 in which the same sentiment is expressed in the form jikalau patah-lah tulang kami. There does not seem to be any particular significance in the word bahu here, which M. misreads batu.

162a. See pp 84 & 98 and note 156 above.

163. MS. برنچنگ , M. berpanching, – fishing ? The right word must surely be berpenchak, wrestling (see Winstedt, 1909b, 28). A good account of the mock combat called penchak is given by Clifford (1927, 28).

164. di-suroh baginda pada gajah, but some word like pijak may have been left out after baginda. patah ? of three lines below.

165. MS in both places فوهن – pohon-nya, M. and D. But pangkal-nya is the proper sense. Me. "depuis le pied jusqu'à la cime", but the description of Tun Beraim Bapa's actions below makes it sufficiently clear that the trunk of a tree had fallen horizontally across the river.

166. MS. برکنف , M. berkampong, "lying as they were close together" ? though this seems an unlikely sense. Did the writer mean (ber)gelombang, of the waves generated by the splash ?

167. Orang Seri, a man of priestly caste, a Brahmin ? A name possibly associated with Seri (or Sri), the Hindu Goddess of fertility who was sometimes identified with Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu. In the fourteenth century Vishnuite sects, devotees of Vishnu and Seri, were found all over Malaysia. The fact that in the mind of a Muslim writer in Pasai ca 1360 there was nothing unusual about a Muslim ruler calling on the services of a Vishnuite priest is another illustration of the way in which pre-Muslim practises survived as the new religion made slow headway.

168. MS. فنيارم , M. penjaram. W. says "tiaram, peniaram, better jaram, penjaram; cold compress (of leaves) to allay headaches." s.v. jaram. Burkill (Dict. s.v. Ardisia) "nyarang, jarang-jarang, penjarang, a medicinal herb" etc. But here apparently a medicinal tablet, of dried leaves ?

168a. Lubok Tura, M. Tora, Turi. See p 36.

169. MS. ular للب , M. lemba, D. lembu. W. gives the Menangkabau form lambu (= lembu) as used "of the fabled ox that supports the earth on its horns". The story here is obviously derived from a confused Muslim cosmogony, with Hindu borrowings, which in South East

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Asia represented the earth as carried by a bull with forty horns (see Winstedt, 1925, 10). It harks back to a primitive belief in an underworld snake-god, reported by Van der Hoop from Sarawak (1949, 274-5) and Evans from Malaya (1937, 174). It is notable that in Hindu mythology the serpent often symbolizes what Zimmer (1947, 75) has called "the embodiment of the water of life issuing from the body of Mother Earth".

**169a.** This remark, about the universality of God, is the only statement of a religious nature attributed by the writer to Ahmad.

**169b.** *sabasana* – Hind. *sabsabana*, snake-like. Myths about snake-trees are common in many parts of South East, see e.g. Evans (1927, 24).

**170.** MS *ساک برسیک*, M. *saga bersiak*. But D. *naga bersisek* is obviously right. Burkill (Dict. s.v. *Entada*) describes *akar beluru* as a woody climber with large pods, and adds "If the stem is cut a large quantity of fresh water comes out, which can be drunk". The edible seeds of *beluru* are mentioned by Logan (1847, 259), and beliefs about its magic powers by Gimlette (1920, 118).

**171.** *hamba tanamkan*. sc. *hamba (akan) di-tanamkan* or *tuan hamba tanamkan*.

**172.** *lembing itu terhunjam antara selang saudara-nya yang kedua jua*. See bottom of p 90, where the writer says that Tun Beraim Bapa ordered the burial of his two sisters (*saudara*) on Bukit Fadlu'llah.

**173.** MS. *فريک*, M. *perseh*. But D. *perbaik* is presumably what was meant.

**174.** *Ratu Majapahit*. *ratu*; Jav. ruler, emperor; in later times queen, of the Susuhunan of Mataram. Cf. SM (S. p 27) *pada zaman itu* (15th century) *ratu Majapahit itu raja besar*. In Majapahit days other titles and honorifics were added to *Ratu*; *Nara-rata*, *Sang Nata* (see text, below and note 178), *Aji*, *Prabu* etc. (Raffles, 1830, I, 348-9).

The *Silasilah Raja-Raja di-Tanah Jawa* (see Bibliography, p 215) gives the legend of the founding of Majapahit by Prabu Susurah, who noticed the bitter (*pahit*) taste of the fruit of the *maja* tree which grows abundantly in certain parts of Java.

**175.** MS. and D. *چين*, M. *China* is a curious misreading.

**176.** MS *سکوجي* which M. reads as *sa-kochi*. But D. *kuja* – Pers. *kuza* (?), a ewer, water-jug, is more likely to be right. But perhaps *guchi*, W. "water-vessel – buyong".

**177.** *Radin Galoh Gem'erengchang*. *Radin Galoh*, a Javanese title for a princess, e.g. in the Panji legend-cycle, and in SM as R.G. *Ajong* of Majapahit and Champa (S. p 132) and also as R. G. *Chandra Kirana* the Majapahit princess whom Sultan Mansur Shah married, and in *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (1915, I, 6-7) as R. G. *Puspa Kenchana*.

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**178.** *Sang Nata Majapahit*. *Sang* is an honorific term applied to heroes and demi-gods in Javanese-Malay mythology, cf. *Sang Superba*, *Sang Setia*, *Sang Jaya* in *SM*. *Nata*, Skr. *nat'ha*, Burm. *nat*, supernatural being, = protector, lord. *Sang Nata*, W. "His Sacred Majesty". See note 174.

**179.** *Fermaisuri*, queen, queen consort, wife of a *permaisura* (deriv. *Para-Maheswara* ?, Skr. "Lord of All", i.e. *Siva*). In Java the title became equivalent to *Ratu*. See note 174.

**180.** *Hairan-lah itu bonda-nya serta . . . D. Hairan-lah serta*, but *M. Hairan-lah ayah bonda-nya serta . . .* corrects what must be a copyist's slip.

**181.** MS. صبت علي مصائب علي الايام صرن لياليا . The transliterations of this passage in both D. and M. are valueless. T. M. Johnstone tells me that the best reading of the original would be صبت علي المصائب والأيام صرن لياليا . The sense requires the replacement of ولا by ولأ to give *wa'l-ayyamu* — see revised text p 94, in which I have taken this reading for transliteration.

**182.** MS. غورب , *M. ghurab*, was the term used by Arab seamen for a large sailing vessel with two or three masts, lateen-rigged (Gibson-Hill). It passed into the languages of maritime India as *gorab*, Anglo-Indian "grab". Ibn Batuta (1879, 59) mentions *gorab*. In *SM* (R.O.W. p. 211) the word is used incorrectly for a Portuguese fighting-ship.

*kelulus* was the name of a Javanese galley, a long, undecked fighting vessel propelled by oars, the *calaluze* which 150 years later Pires (1944, I, 194) round being used as a raider in the Malacca Straits. The boat is also mentioned in *SM* (*ibid.*, 63).

**182a.** The story-teller imparts a new twist to the remark recorded as having been made by Ahmad to Zulaikha on two previous occasions, see pp 79 & 83. This does not prove that he necessarily had access to Part II, though such repetitions as these (cf. also p 98 and note 191a) and the early mention of the princess by name (p 75) do support the view that he was revising and adding new material to a manuscript of which the last part was the story of Ahmad and 'Iun Beraim Bapa.

**183.** *Sa-telah sudah sampai-lah salakian angkatan itu . . . . .* This incomplete sentence is omitted by D. The next paragraph, ending with the verse, abruptly changes the subject. But the story of the return of the fleet to Java is resumed in the passage that follows, and is introduced by the same sentence — this time complete. Perhaps the lacuna here arises from the misreading by a copyist of an interpolation (with erasures ?) made by one of his fourteenth century predecessors.

**184.** *teguh apa-lah akan daku*. I have translated this in the sense the context requires, viz. *mengapa-kah kamu tidak tegah akan daku* ? see verse below, lines 3-4. But as it stands it might possibly mean "impose what penalty you like on me for having . . .", though this is an unlikely sentiment for a Malay writer to put in the mind of a penitent king.

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**185.** MS. ران سجان كرت , M. Rana Saujana Kerati. Me. takes this for a title Rana Sadjana Krette. But when the same verse is repeated (p 48) the second line becomes سلم لاد سكرت , which I take to mean literally "From the time when the stems were cut". The verse appears both times in the context of Ahmad's remorse, and I can offer no comment on the possible reason for the change in wording, which seems too great to be explained away as a copyist's error.

**186.** *kapada Pateh*. Pateh was the title given in Majapahit times to the chief minister who presided over the affairs of the state in the name of the ruler. The pre-eminent position of the grand vizier, whose full title was Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, is shown in SM (S. Chapter 14). After the coming of Islam Pateh was the title given to the governor of a province in Java, cf. e.g. Pires (1944, I, 154). See also Hall (1955, 76-77), and note 87.

**187.** *segala penggawa*, which M. misreads *pegawai*. In Malay texts *penggawa* is used of a minister or military commander of high but not the senior rank, cf. *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (1915, I, 49) *karna ia penggawa agong*, of a minister whose services were too valuable to be lost. Perhaps in the passage here "commissioned officers."

**188.** MS. ملغبغ , M. and D. *malangbang*, but presumably *melambang*, W. "A beamy, flat-bottomed boat". It is mentioned in the SM description of the fleet assembled by Majapahit for an attack on Singapore ca 1380 (R.O.W., p 63) *sa-ratus buah jong dan lain daripada itu melamtang* (MS. 18. ملتغ ) *dan kelulus, jongkong, cheruchup . . .*

**189.** *Sena-pati ing alaga*, Jav. "Army Leader in the Battle", the title of the commander-in-chief of the Majapahit army (Raffles, 1830, I, 349). The earliest record of this title is probably that written on a Srivijaya inscription dated A.D. 1183 (Sastri, 1949, 92). In late Srivijaya times the title was used of the governor of a province.

**190.** *paramenteri dan parapenggawa*. *para*, Kawi, = part, portion, here used as a collective prefix implying equivalence of rank, cf. *Perpateh* = *parapateh*, a status equal in importance to that of a *pateh* (see notes 87 and 186). But here the meaning may be just "all (those with the rank of) *menteri* and *penggawa*".

**190a.** See note 91.

**191.** *akan panglima-nya* (*peng-* + *lima*, hand), a term used in the oldest Malay literature of warfare for the leader of an expedition against an enemy stronghold, and surviving in later times as a court title. Cf. S. p 231, *Seri Udana . . . di-jadikan panglima* of the appointment at Bentan of the old Temenggong *Seri Awadana* as leader of a raid ca 1520 on the Portuguese in Malacca.

**191a.** Cf. the list of Tun Beraim Bapa's friends on p 77, where with minor variations the same names occur in the same order. It is hardly likely that the writer of Part III would have reproduced the earlier names so closely unless he had Part II as a written source. See note 182a.

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**191b.** Cf. the battle scenes described in similar conventional expressions on pp 50 & 67-68.

**191c.** The passage seems to have been lifted by the writer of Part III from Part II, see pp 84 & 86.

**191d.** See p 96 and note 185.

**191e.** "The Field of the Bent Mango".

**192.** MS. منشگل . M. *meninggal* but the word is evidently *menunggul*. *tunggul*, W. "to give surety, e.g. hostages or indemnity after a defeat". Cf. below *penunggul*, hostage(s), which is also M.'s reading: MS. منشگل

**193.** There must be a lacuna between *ka-Majapahit* and *lalu naik-lah*. I have taken the missing words to be *Hatta beberapa lama-nya belayar maka segala kelengkapan itu pun sampai-lah ka-benua Jawa*.

**193a.** See this page, above, and note 192.

**194.** *krama*, in Malay classics usually transliterated *keramat*; W. saintly, miracle-working. As used here the word covers tombs and shrines, places of pilgrimage both Muslim and non-Muslim. There are accounts of Malay *keramat* by *inter alia* Winstedt (1924, 264-79), and Wilkinson (1906, 21-3) and of Sumatran graves by Marsden (1894, 287-8).

**195.** MS. ماجن نكارا , not *Majan Negara* ? but presumably *Machan Negara*. M. *Legara* and *Perkuasa* are mistakes which obscure the real meaning of these titles "... his Prime Minister the Mad (Rutting ?) Elephant, his *Temenggong* the Imperial Tiger and his *Demang* the Mighty Lion".

**196.** *Ingkang Sinuhan*, Jav. lit. The Respected, The Exalted.

**197.** MS. امبل ۲ کبلان ; M. *ambil-ambil gembala-nya* is meaningless. Sir Richard Winstedt has suggested to me that it may be *ambil-ambil kembal-nya*. *berambil-ambil* = *berarak-arak*, carried in procession. *kembali*, normally used of a rattan basket also describes, Sir Richard tells me, a decorated coconut-shell carried in wedding processions.

**198.** *paseban agong* = *balai agong*, equivalent to Mal. *balai seri*. *Paseban* referred specifically to the outer gallery or floor round the platform, to which the public were admitted when the ruler conferred with his ministers. The *paseban* of *Majapahit* is described by Raffles (1830, II, 145-6) as a large building supported by a double row of lofty pillars, cf. HRP account of the Pasai *balai* on p 75.

**199.** *ngabehi*, "he who goes over many (*kabeh*)", W. *kebahi*, properly *kabehi* = (modern) *ngabehi* "official (of old Java romance)". M. *ngabihi*, Van Eysinga's handbook has *ange'bai*.

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*aria*, a quasi-royal title denoting very high rank in Java.

*kebayan, lurah*; village headmen of Java.

*bekel*, M. *bebekala* but MS. بېکل probably stands for *perbekel* (*para-bekel* — see note 190), W. *perbekal* “a petty village official other than the headman”.

*patinggi* (= *para-tinggi* ?), village headmen equivalent to *lurah*. Raffles says that at the time of Majapahit *Ang'ebai* and *Demang* were territorial chiefs who ranked as *menteri*. Below them were *aria*, *lura*, *bukul*, *pating'gi*. See also van Eysinga (*ibid.*).

200. MS. بڠورن here and بڠورن in the list of place-names on p 103. *Bunguran* is not found on any map to which I have had access (see Bibliography, p. 215). But Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill tells me that it is an old name for Great Natuna Island\*. On this view it fits well into the sequence of place-names in this passage. SM (B. p 49) tells the story of a man from Pasai who went to Singapore and “walked through the streets accompanied by Tuan (?) di-Bungoran” (MS 18. بڠورن). From its context I take *Pulau Laut* to be P.Aor, but it is now the name of northernmost of the Natuna Islands.

201. MS. كريمان, M. *Keriamat*, but obviously *Karimata*, an island in the strait between Belitong and the west coast of Borneo, formerly more important than at the present time. Used also for the neighbouring coast of Borneo, but here probably referring to the island.

202. At this point the reading in the MS is كبرومك مك سكلين M. and D. have read this . . . *ka-Berumak*. *Maka sakalian* . . . Winstedt (1917, 181) finds linguistic grounds for altering the name to *Beromok*. Neither word occurs on maps of the area. Has a copyist written مك twice? There are three or four other places in the MS where this has happened. Possibly Raffles's copyist misread the first مك as part of the place-name, and repeated the mistake in his list on p. 106. The correct reading could be . . . *ka-Berau*. *Maka* . . . *Berau*, a district surrounding a wide bay on the east coast of Borneo, would thus become the most north-easterly point reached by the Majapahit fleet. But here Gibson-Hill (*in litt.*) demurs. While willing to accept *Berau* in place of *Berumak* or *Beromok* he considers the list of toponyms as it stands a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century production, and points out that we have no references to *Berau* (Hunt's *Barow* or *Borong*) prior to the end of the eighteenth century, when it appears as a semi-independant sultanate in alliance with Sulu.

203. *dua musim angin*, two seasons of storms, i.e. from the onset of one north-east monsoon to the end of the one following it; say from October to the following March year (see maps prepared by Grimes, 1941, 80-91).

204. MS. كرنيوك, M. *Kerantoka*, D. *Karantok*., but there is no place of this name anywhere near the route which the fleet is described

\* For places named in notes 200-204 see map on page 108.



as having taken. It cannot be Gorontalo in north Celebes. The writer must have meant *Larantoka*, in eastern Flores, see Winstedt (1917b, 180).

Ceram is the modern spelling of *Siran* (M. and D.), MS. اسيران

**205.** *pelbagai jenis warna*: perhaps loosely "objects of many different shapes and kinds". Cf. p 51, *jelbagai warna permainan*, "entertainments of various kinds".

**206.** MS. ريل = *rial*, but this is an anachronism. v.I. p 35. The "piece-of-eight", introduced into South East Asia by the earliest traders from Europe, did not become the established coin of foreign exchange until ca 1600. Later the unmilled coin was replaced by the milled *ringgit* (see Floris, 1934, lxi, and Parkinson, 1952, 80, ft.n.). The *rial* (*real*) cannot have been known in the trade marts of Sumatra, even as a rare curio, until after the voyage of Vasco da Gama.

**207.** MS. اورغ , M. *orang* which makes little sense. Me. guessed "*espèces monnayées*", but the writer probably meant (*mas*) *urong*, Jav. *wurung*, iron pyrites. Portuguese writers mention iron pyrites as an old and valuable article of trade all over South East Asia in the early sixteenth century. Long before this time it was being mined in certain islands of the Banggai Archipelago, off the east coast of Celebes. See Pires (1944, I, 215-6) and Barbosa (1921, 205).

**208.** The MS omits the minister's share, apparently through a copyist's oversight. D. supplies *dan sa-bagai akan segala menteri dan penggawa* and M. *dan sa-bagai akan segala menteri*, either of which is acceptable.

**208a.** . . . *sa-wetan-nya*. See note 156.

**209.** *lilin*. In the writings of fourteenth and fifteenth century Chinese travellers beeswax is often mentioned as a common article of merchandise in Malaysia (see e.g. Rockhill, 1915, 120-4). It was a product of *Tan-ma-ling* and *Tang-ya-nong*, both on the east coast of Malaya? (Braddell, 1950, 10 ff.). See particularly Wheatley, *JMBRAS*, 32, (2); 1959: 125-26.

**210.** MS. مسوي , M. *meswi*. Burkill (Dict., s.v. *Massoia*) says that the bark was used medicinally and as a food flavouring. The tree grows all over South East Asia, as also does the cinnamon plant whose leaves and bark (*kayu manis*) have similar uses. In the fourteenth century the trade in cinnamon centred on India, Ceylon and the Persian Gulf, although its cultivation originated in China.

**211.** *kesturi*, musk or civet, here almost certainly civet, a secretion from the glands of the African civet-cat and several allied species found from India south-east to Java, Borneo and the Philippines (Gibson-Hill). It was associated with *ambergris* (*ambar k.*, see note 40) in the Chinese manufacture of perfume in very remote times. An important trade in both these products grew up in the fifteenth century in Malacca (see e.g. Barbosa, 1921, 173).

**212.** *wayang wong* (Jav. = *w. orang*), a form of straight play with actors taking speaking parts, equivalent to the *wayang kun* (= *lakun*) of Ligor (Skeat. 1900, 519). War-dances, posturing and limb-movements

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portrayed stories based on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. There are descriptions by *inter alia* Van der Hoop (1951, 112) and de Wit (1905, 136-8).

*wayang topeng* is similar in topic to the *wayang wong*, the actors wearing elaborate masks and head-dresses and performing in mime, the narrative being sustained by a *To' Dalang* as in the well-known shadow-play (*wayang kulit*) to a musical accompaniment on gongs, drums and strings.

*joget tandak bedaya*. *joget*, a *pas-à-deux* performed by professional dancing-girls, has often been described, e.g. Skeat, 1896, 46-8; Earl, 1837, 100-1. *tandak*, dancing with the feet, Javanese step-dancing, describes the movements typical of *joget bedaya*, MS. بدای , M. *bedai*; W. "a choric dancer", is described by Raffles (1830, I, 381) as the performer of a Javanese figure-dance, the action moving to music and song.

*beksan*, MS. بېکسن , M. *bebeksana*, was a type of dramatic dance to musical accompaniment. Types of *beksan* have been described by Raffles (*ibid.*, 384). In a letter published by Dr. Linehan (1951, 112) Van der Hoop notes *beksan pidjer*, a war-dance performed by four male dancers like the *wayang wong*.

**213.** *Pulau Percha*. The origin of this old name for the southern part of the island of Sumatra is obscure. To the writer of *HRP* it seems to have meant a region bordering the central highlands in the hinterland of Jambi.

**213a.** See p 85 and note 158.

**214.** *saga*: the small red bean-seeds of *Abrus precatorius*, which have been used in South East Asia as beads (Foxworthy, 1922, 216) and weights (Newbold, 1839, II, 25-6).

**214a.** *warga dalam*, M. *Warga Dalam*; but *warga* Jav. means family, occupant of a household, cf. modern Indon. *warga negara*, citizen. Here *warga dalam* — one who is "at home in the inner circle of the court". It is not a title or proper name.

**215.** *sa-telah maka ia*. A word like *datang* (D.) or *sudah* (M.) is required before or in place of *maka*.

**216.** *seking karsa*, lit. "from wishing". The meaning may perhaps be "(your servant begs leave) to disagree with your proposal", especially in view of the adverse turn taken by events (see below).

**216a.** See p 99.

**216d.** See p 100 and note 199.

**217.** MS. مغالو هالوکن , M. *mengalau-ngalaukan*. In view of the good reception given to the men of Java recorded in the passage below, it seems certain that if the copyist meant *halau-halau*, "drive out" he misread what the author intended for *alu-alu*, "welcome, receive with respect".

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**218.** MS. تاشان, *M. tapaian*. But the word here must mean not the liquor itself but the jars used to hold fermented spirits = *tempayan*. Incomplete fermentation of rice produces a light brew, *tapai*; complete fermentation a strong intoxicant, *arak*, etc.

*beram* is rice-spirit flavoured with various ingredients. A form of spirit called *kilang* is produced by fermentation of palm-sugar, *gula kabong*.

**218a.** *kiai-kiai*. *kiai*, *kyahi*, *Kawi Ki-ayi*, is an address and title of respect for Javanese people of position: cf. p 101 above, and also *Hikayat Hang Tuah* p 285, where Gajah Mada is addressed as *kiai*. *kiai-kiai* was often used in Java for members of the aristocracy who were not *Radin* or *Mas*, in contrast to *menteri*, *pembekal*, "officials".

**219.** *Menangkabau* i.e. meaning *kerbau*, "(The place where) the buffalo gained a victory". Malaysian folklore contains other similar stories of animal contests won by trickery, see e.g. Bickmore, (1868, 469). In a traditional version summarized by Cooper Cole (1945, 258-59) a nine-pointed spike (*minang*) of iron fitted over the buffalo-calf's nose, which drove deeply into the large bull's body and killed it, supplies a different derivation for *Menangkabau*. Another version of the story, taken by Raffles (1822, 8-10) from a manuscript owned by the Sultan of Indrapura, will be found in Appendix 3. Actually the probable derivation of *Menangkabau* is *pinang kabau*. *kabau*, *kabor* etc., a pinnate-leafted Malaysian tree (*Burkill*, s.v. *Allopylus*, *Pithecellobium*).

**220.** 21 Muharram A.H. 1230, corresponding to 2 January A.D. 1814. Me. omits this last sentence of the colophon, although D. gives it.

**221.** v.I. p 26 for comments on this postscript written in Old Javanese. It may be seen on page 44 of this journal.

During the reign of Sultan Agong in the early seventeenth century the Muslim year of 354 days was adopted in Java in place of the 365-day solar year. The year 1742 in the Saka era corresponds with A.D. 1814, and the postscript is in its right chronological sequence.

**222.** v.I. pp 24, 35, 44-5. In the 1814 MS the lists begin on a fresh page. The entries are written in the same hand as the rest of the work. The place-names, with many omissions which Me. has tried to make good, are listed in the order in which they occur in the text. In writing برومك the compiler has made the same mistake twice — see note

202. His معيري for مغيري (*mengiri* = *Ma'abri*, see note 25) is presumably due to his misreading the word in the Demak manuscript (if he still had it) or, more probably, his transcription of it in his own work. There are a few other similar mistakes in the three lists; *Barus* (note 23) ? , *Rama Gandi* (note 53), and *Pemanggil* and *Karimata* (note 201) which he lists as though they formed a double name for one and the same place. It seems very likely that these lists were written by Raffles's copyist in 1814 on Raffles's instructions. Gibson-Hill regards the conquests of Majapahit both here and above as a late interpolation. He points out that Riau (on Tanjong Pinang, off Pulau Bentan) dates only from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and that prior to ca 1800 Pulau Pemanggil was

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always known as Pulau Pisang: it is even called "Pulo Pisang or Pambeelan" as late as the fifth edition of Horsburgh's *Directory* (1843). In addition the series of south Borneo ports omits Lave (or Lawe) and Tanjong pura, but includes Banjarmasin and Pasir. (See map on p. 172).

**223.** In an article published eight years before his HRP text appeared Dulaurier took this sentence to end at *pechah-nya*, and obtained the sense "In the list below are all the places which were vassals of the king of Majapahit at the time of its (i.e. Majapahit's) fall". He continues 1. *Negeri Pasai, ratu-nya . . .* etc. Evidently Dulaurier took *pechah-nya* to refer to the Majapahit defeat at Menangkabau which is the subject of the last episode in the text. It is true that the different meaning which Dulaurier's rearrangement carries is supported by the sequence of events told in Part III. Pasai is described as having been conquered before all the other places. But in the MS. there is no break between *pechah-nya* and *negeri Pasai*. The words written by the 1814 copyist are so grouped that they can bear no meaning other than the one I have given. The words *pada zaman* may mean no more than "during the period when . . .".

**224.** The locations proposed by Dulaurier (1846, 544-71) for the places listed here are quite unacceptable. For maps he had only Marsden's of Sumatra and those appearing in Moor (1837). The information he gained from Roorda van Eysinga (1838), Valentijn (1724-6), Raffles (1830), and Lee's translation of Ibn Batuta (1829) was entirely inadequate to his needs.

## Bibliography

The writer who provides a commentary on a historiographical text needs to consult a wide range of sources. These vary from works of critical importance, which throw light on the whole subject matter and background, to passing observations scattered here and there in the literature, some but not all in works of accepted scholarship. The latter are noted where they illustrate some detail in the text requiring elucidation. In this bibliography, whose sole purpose is to help those wishing to fill in the picture sketched summarily in the Introduction and Notes above, I have included all the works that I have consulted. These are arranged in three lists. The first comprises papers and books of known authorship, the second classical texts of unknown or disputed authorship and the third dictionaries. Works in the first and last sections are arranged under the name of the author (or compiler): those in the second are listed alphabetically by their titles. General sources and works of importance and definitive value are marked with an asterisk (\*).

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The following abbreviations are employed in the subsequent lists:

- BEFEO* = *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*. Hanoi, later Saigon, now Paris, 1901-continuing.  
*BSOAS* = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies*. London, 1917-continuing.  
*Hakluyt* = the Hakluyt Society publications, first series. London, 1847-98.  
*Hakluyt SS* = *ibid.*, second series. London, 1899-continuing.  
*JA.* = *Journal Asiatique*. Paris, 1813-continuing.  
*JIA* = *Journal of the Indian Archipelago & Eastern Asia*. (Edited, J. R. Logan). Singapore, 1847-63.  
*JMBRAS* = *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*. Singapore, 1923-continuing.  
*JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*. London, 1834-continuing.  
*JSBRAS* = *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*. Singapore, 1878-1922 (title then changed to *JMBRAS*, above).  
*MLS* = Malay Literature Series. Singapore.  
*MRM* = *Memoirs of the Raffles Museum*. Singapore, 1956-continuing.  
*PMS* = *Papers on Malay Subjects*. Kuala Lumpur, 1907-11.  
*PMS SS* = *ibid.*, second series. Singapore & Kuala Lumpur, 1912-27.  
*TBC* = *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, 1853-1954.  
*TP* = *T'oung Pao*. Leiden, 1890-continuing.

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